

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

MARCH 1948

VOLUME XXX

NUMBER ONE

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Articles and monographs for the new Supplement series should be addressed to the Editor of the ART BULLETIN, Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University, Fogg Museum, Cambridge 38, Mass.; books for review should be addressed to the Editor for Book Reviews, Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University, Fogg Museum, Cambridge 38, Mass. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed in the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., October 24, 1925, under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at the Post Office at Brattleboro, Vermont, July 23, 1943.

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MARCH 1948

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7. The following words, phrases, and abbreviations should be italicized: *ad loc.*, *cap.*, *circa* (*ca.*), *et al.*, *ibid.*, *idem*, *infra*, *loc. cit.*, *op. cit.*, *passim*, *q.v.*, *saec.*, *scilicet* (*scil.* or *sc.*), *sub voce* (*s.v.*), *supra*, *versus* (*vs.*), *vide*; but not: *cf.*, *col.*, *e.g.*, *etc.*, *ff.* (following), *fol.*, *fol.* (folio, folios), *i.e.*, *l.*, *ll.* (line, lines), *p.*, *v.*, *vv.* (verse, verses), *viz.*

8. Double quotation marks should be used for primary quotations; single quotation marks will be reserved for a quotation within a quotation.

9. In citing from periodicals, the title of the article should be in roman within double quotation marks, and the title of the periodical in italics. Thus:

Adolph Goldschmidt, "The Decoration of Early Mainz Books," *Magazine of Art*, XXXI, 1938, pp. 579-581.

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of publication, followed by a comma; 7) reference to volume in small roman numerals without preceding "Vol." or "V." and followed by a comma; 8) page or column number, preceded by "p.," "pp." or "col.," "cols." Thus:

Mary H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, p. 60.

Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, Librairie Auguste Picard, 1925, II, pp. 73-78.

11. In English titles of publications, capitalize all principal words; in Latin, in addition to the first word, capitalize proper nouns and adjectives derived therefrom; in French, Italian, and Spanish, in addition to the first word, capitalize proper nouns but not the adjectives derived therefrom; in German, capitalize all nouns but not the corresponding adjectives, except those derived from names of persons.

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13. All references should be verified before the manuscript is submitted for publication. Articles that are incomplete in this respect will be returned to the author for completion before acceptance.

14. The funds of the ART BULLETIN do not admit of an expenditure of over fifteen per cent (15%) of the cost of composition for alterations in articles once set up in galley proof. In order that contributors may be spared the expense of exceeding this allowance, they are urged to prepare their manuscripts as nearly as possible in conformity with the above rules. In cases of doubt as to form, contributors are referred to *A Manual of Style* published by the University of Chicago Press.

15. Authors of articles will receive twenty-five offprints free of charge. Authors of Notes will receive ten offprints free of charge. Ten copies of the whole back section will be sent free of charge to authors of Reviews of Books and Exhibitions and to writers of Letters. The privilege of obtaining additional offprints at cost has been temporarily discontinued.

16. The name of the institution with which an author is connected will be printed at the end of his contribution; brackets will be used to denote that the author is a student at that institution.

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE PRISCILLIAN PROLOGUES IN THE GOSPEL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CAROLINGIAN ADA SCHOOL

ROBERT M. WALKER

SEVERAL years ago, while making a study of the famous Ada School of Carolingian illuminated manuscripts, Ernest T. DeWald observed that certain of the pictures in the distinguished Gospels of Soissons could not be explained in the usual way, that is, as illustrations of the opening chapters of the Four Gospels. His suggestion for the source of these scenes has prompted further investigation of the problem. The results are presented in this study.¹

I

A Gospel Book or Evangelary of the Carolingian Ada School has in common with many other Vulgate Gospels certain specific characteristics in structure.² It is made up of two major elements: the text of the Four Gospels according to SS. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which may be said to constitute the body of the Book; and the supplementary material in the form of prefaces, prologues, et cetera.

The typical Gospel Book opens with the famous letter of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, beginning with the words *Novum opus*. Writing at Rome in the year 383 Jerome speaks of his great labor in compiling from the Greek and Latin texts this new edition of the Gospels which he is about to dedicate to the Pope.

The canons of Eusebius follow next, prefaced by a translation of the letter from their author to Carpianus

explaining the function and purpose of this concordance by which the words of the four Evangelists may be conveniently compared. By way of further explanation of the use of the canons a note beginning *Sciendum etiam* was appended to Jerome's letter in about the eighth century. On this bit of apocryphal exegesis Berger dryly comments: ". . . petit morceau mal écrit et qui ne dit ce que le lecteur a déjà lu deux fois . . .," i.e. in the letters of Eusebius and Jerome.³

After the Eusebian canons comes another introduction beginning *Plures fuisse*, which is "St. Jerome's (certainly authentic) Prologue to the Gospels—, prefixed to the Commentary on Matthew."⁴

In addition to this prefatory matter there are four Prologues, one preceding each of the Four Gospels. Chapman concludes that these extremely involved Arguments were written in Spain by the influential heretic, Priscillian, for the Old Latin Gospels (i.e. the pre-Jerome edition versions) sometime during the second half of the fourth century. "It is clear that the idea of the Prologues is to find in the beginning of each Gospel the key to its meaning and a description to the evangelist's own character," writes the English Benedictine.⁵ Following each of the four Prologues are the *capitula* or table of contents to each Gospel.

These then are the usual basic elements making up the accessory material of an Ada Gospel Book. However, they may not all appear in every manuscript, and they do not always occur in the same order.

1. This paper originated in the seminar in manuscript illumination held in Princeton University, 1934. The author is indebted for kind criticism and advice from Professors E. T. DeWald, A. M. Friend, C. R. Morey, and Erwin Panofsky, as well as from the late Mrs. Grace B. Hollis, and Miss Helen Woodruff.

2. For further reference consult Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi latine*, Oxford, 1889-1895.

3. Samuel Berger, "Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les mss. de la Vulgate," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres de l'Institut de France*, Paris, 1904, XI, 2, p. 14.

4. Dom John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, Oxford, 1908, p. 273. Compare with Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 223 and 240.

The finer Ada Gospel Book has illustrations in addition to the typical text as part of its supplementary apparatus. Of these miniatures there are three principal types: Evangelist portrait, initial, and canon tables. In each Evangelary there are four Evangelist portrait pages and four initial pages arranged in four sets so that a pair immediately precedes each of the four Gospels. Near the beginning of the manuscript are the ten Eusebian concordances or canon tables. Their lists of comparative passage numbers are divided in a series of pages whose number varies with different Evangelaries.

The typical Evangelist portrait page may be described briefly. Within the large rectangle formed by a banded border is an arch springing from two columns. This decorative frame encloses the figure of one of the four Evangelists. Dressed in the tunic and *pallium* of a classical philosopher, he is usually writing in his book on the lectern close to the cushioned chair in which he is seated. Sometimes he is found in the act of dipping his pen or suddenly looking up as if for inspiration. A curtain frequently hangs behind him from a rod. This flat background is often replaced by a piece of architecture such as a rounded exedra. Above the head of this Evangelist, in the tympanum, is his proper symbol—if he be St. Matthew, the angel or man; if St. Mark, the lion; if St. Luke, the bull or calf; if St. John, the eagle. While a verse from a chapter other than the first one in his Gospel may sometimes appear written on the open pages of the book before the seated Evangelist, upon the outstretched roll or codex held by the apocalyptic representative is always found the opening phrase of his Gospel.

The meaning of the page is simply explained as another instance of a practice which goes back to the early days of the book itself—of placing in front of an author's work his own portrait. A classic instance is the frontispiece of the Vatican Terence of the ninth century, in which two bemasked actors present to the reader a medalion portrait of Terence.⁶ In the Gospel Book, however, there is a difference, because the Evangelist is not only present as a witness to the authorship of his work but is actually shown in the process of writing his Gospel under divine guidance.

Opposite the Evangelist portrait is the initial page forming the recto of the next folio. Its illustration consists solely of the illumination of certain letters from a text. If it is the first "initial" in the Gospel Book, there is found upon a richly bordered page the great initials *LI*, followed in plainer capitals by *BER* GENERATIONIS *IHV* *XR̄I* *FILII* *DAVID* *FILII* *ABRAHAM*. In order that the significance of these words may not be obscured by the intricate arrangement or ornament of their letters, at the top

of the page is written in majuscule *INCIPIIT EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM MATTHEVM*.

The illumination of the Eusebian canon tables is almost as ingenious as their invention. These lists of numbers, giving parallel Gospel passages, are placed in the intercolumniations of a decorative arcade enclosed in turn within a single arch. Enframed by this arch and above the arcade is the title, in capitals, of the particular concordance whose numbers are given below. Decorative variations occur in the treatment of the bases, shafts, and capitals of the columns, while the surface of the great arch is often covered with the rich patterns so dear to the heart of the Carolingian illuminator.

The illumination of the finer Ada Book therefore seems to be a frontispiece style. Its essential character is that of illustrations carefully selected and placed at the beginning of a text. Thus it differs radically from the cyclic or historical style as found in the Greek Psalters, such as the noted Rockefeller McCormick manuscript, where a running text is illustrated by concomitant pictures.

To recapitulate, the finer Ada Gospel Book is made up of certain fundamental elements in text and illustrations arranged in the following order:

1. Letter of Jerome to Damasus: *Novum opus* . . .
2. Preface: *Sciendum etiam* . . .
3. Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus: *Eusebius Carpiano* . . .
4. Canon tables
5. Prologue to the four Gospels: *Plures fuisse* . . .
6. Prologue to Gospel of Matthew: *Mattheus ex Iudaeis* . . .
7. *Capitula* to Matthew
8. Evangelist portrait of Matthew
9. Initial page of Matthew
10. Gospel of Matthew
11. Prologue to Gospel of Mark: *Marcus, euangelista dei* . . .
12. *Capitula* of Mark
13. Evangelist portrait of Mark
14. Initial page of Mark
15. Gospel of Mark
16. Prologue to Gospel of Luke: *Lucas Syrus* . . .
17. *Capitula* of Luke
18. Evangelist portrait of Luke
19. Initial page of Luke
20. Gospel of Luke
21. Prologue to Gospel of John: *Hic est Iohannes* . . .
22. *Capitula* of John
23. Evangelist portrait of John
24. Initial page of John
25. Gospel of John

II

From the *scriptoria* of the Ada School came certain Gospel Books which are more fully illustrated. Among

6. Adolph Goldschmidt, *German Illumination: Carolingian Period*, New York, 1928, pl. 17.

them is the Soissons Gospels, presented, according to tradition, by Louis the Pious and his wife, Judith, to St. Médard of Soissons on Easter Day, 827.⁷ Presumably it had been inherited by Louis, together with a chalice and paten bearing the monogram of Charlemagne. But with the suppression of the monastery of St. Médard in 1790, the Evangelary left Soissons and now is in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, catalogued as Ms lat. 8850.

The Soissons Gospels is perhaps the most distinguished member of that oldest group of Carolingian Gospel manuscripts, the Ada School, which derives its name from a reputed sister of Charlemagne, one Ada, who is said to have presented one of these magnificent Gospel Books (Trèves, Stadtsbibliothek 22) to St. Maximin of Trèves. The structure of the manuscript follows with but few notable exceptions that of the typical Ada Gospel Book.⁸ In addition to the four Gospels, it possesses the four Priscillian Prologues, as well as the prefaces of Jerome, *Novum opus* and *Plures fuisse*. It lacks, however, the extraneous note, *Sciendum etiam*, which is normally appended to *Plures fuisse*, and also omits the letter of Eusebius, which normally precedes the canons, whose illustration is one of the features of this richly illuminated Evangelary.⁹ The interest of this study centers in the additional illustrations of this manuscript, the most magnificent and richest of the Ada illuminated books.

Besides the so-called Fountain of Life on folio 6^v,¹⁰ a second full-page illustration (Fig. 1) is found on folio 1^v. Its position clearly indicates it to be a sort of decorative frontispiece to Jerome's Preface, *Plures fuisse*, which begins on the next and opposite page. The proof for such an assumption is to be found in the last three sentences of the famous Preface:

*Unde et apocalypsis Iohannis post expositionem uiginti quatuor seniorum, qui tenentes citharas et fialas adorant agnum dei, introducit fulgura et tonitrua et Septem spiritus discurrentes et mare uitreum et quattuor animalia plena oculis, dicens Animal primum simile leoni, et secundum simile uitulo, et tertium simile hominis, et quartum aquilae uolanti. Et post paululum Plena inquit erant oculis, et requiem non habebant die et nocte, dicentia Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui uenturus est. Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur quattuor tantum debere euangelia suscepi, et omnes apocriphorum nenas mortuis magis hereticis quam ecclesiasticis uiuis canendas.*¹¹

7. *Ibid.*, p. 11, pls. 31 ff.

8. See Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.

9. A. M. Friend, "The Canon Tables of the Book of Kells," *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, II, pp. 611-666.

10. Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. XVIII B.

11. Wordsworth and White, *op. cit.*, *Euangelium secundum Mattheum*, Oxford, 1889, pp. 13 ff., lines 20 ff.

The twenty-four Elders adoring the Lamb of God are clearly represented at the top of the picture, some with cups, some with musical instruments. At their feet lies the Sea of Glass, well stocked with fish and aquatic birds. Here, too, are the Four Beasts of the Apocalypse, identified by this time in the Christian era with the four Evangelists and therefore particularly appropriate to the Gospel Book. Furthermore, their hymn of praise is found written upon this same page. Immediately below the Sea of Glass and above the head of each of the three niches seen in perspective appears the abbreviation *s̄cs* of the thrice-repeated *sanctus*. The *dñs* *ds* of *dominus deus* and the *omni**p̄s* of *omnipotens* are clearly indicated within two similar trapezoidal spaces directly below the architrave supported by the slender columns. The concluding phrase, *QUI ERAT ET QUI EST ET QUI VENTVRVS EST*, is within the intercolumniations at the base of the scenic structure. By textual motivation, therefore, as well as by structural position, this illustrated page is intimately related to the Preface of Jerome.

Various other pictures in this manuscript raise a problem. With the exception of the pair before the Gospel of Matthew, whose frontispiece rivals such marvels as those of the Gospels of Kells and Lindisfarne, these little scenes occur on the Evangelist portrait and initial pages before the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John. What do these pictures illustrate? One might expect every one to be motivated by the beginning of each Gospel before which the particular page occurs. This does not seem to be the case with the pictures in the spandrels of the Evangelist portrait and initial pages of John.

Above the portrait of St. John (Fig. 2), fol. 180^v, the little picture in the upper left corner is easily recognized as the Miracle at Cana, when Christ transformed the water into wine. The presence of the figures of Christ and the Virgin, with the six jars, excludes any other explanation.¹² The scene in the opposite spandrel is identified by Janitschek as "das Gastmal zu Emmaus,"¹³ and by Fleury as "la cène."¹⁴

The two spandrel pictures on the initial page (Fig. 3), fol. 181^r, are simple in composition. In each, Christ with crossed nimbus is seated before a standing figure to whom he holds out his right hand in the gesture of teaching. Berger is not very explicit in calling these little scenes

12. Listed as such by Édouard Fleury, *Les manuscrits à miniatures de la bibliothèque de Soissons*, Paris, 1865, p. 42, and by Franz Friederich Leitschuh, *Geschichte der karolingischen Malerei*, Berlin, 1894, p. 342 (22); though whether the latter refers to this particular scene, to the opposite one, or even to both, is not clear.

13. H. Janitschek, *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 91.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

"les miracles de Jésus Christ dans cet évangile."¹⁵ Certain other critics, however, have been more specific in their identification. The presence of the woman at the well-mouth in the right spandrel identifies the scene to Beissel,¹⁶ Fleury,¹⁷ Janitschek,¹⁸ and Leitschuh,¹⁹ as Christ and the Woman of Samaria. As for the other scene Leitschuh and Fleury say nothing, while Beissel calls it simply a "Wunder Christi,"²⁰ which it assuredly is not. On the other hand, Janitschek identifies the picture outright as "Christus mit den Zöllnern."²¹ Assuming with Janitschek that these spandrel scenes are motivated by the text of the respective Gospels, it is somewhat disconcerting to find that nowhere in his Gospel does St. John refer to the incident of the Tribute Money. A more reasonable explanation is found in the identification of the two figures as Christ and the Pharisee, Nicodemus.

The story of Christ and the Woman of Samaria is found in John 4:7-29. In John 3:1-21, the Evangelist speaks of the meeting between Jesus and Nicodemus. Christ's miracle at Cana occurs in John 2:1-11. But in no instance does John mention the episode of the supper at Emmaus. It is found only in Luke. In a typical Ada Gospel Book the illustrations should refer to the opening chapter of John. Here the pictures not only refer to later chapters, but one of them, if Janitschek is right, is not motivated even by a verse of the Gospel which it precedes. Is there then some other text that might better identify these illustrations and explain their presence at the beginning of the Gospel of John? A suggestion is given by the Apocalypse page of Soissons, discussed above. This page was found to illustrate the accompanying Prologue of St. Jerome. Therefore it is logical to look for a prefatory text immediately adjoining these two pages in question. Such a text is found in the Priscillian Prologue to John preceding the Gospel of that Evangelist.

The four Priscillian Prologues are as obscure pieces of writing as one may expect to find anywhere in western literature. Other students, such as Corsen and Wordsworth, have attempted the thankless task of rendering them intelligible but probably no one has been so successful as Dom Chapman. His opinion of the literary value of these choice passages of obfuscation is feelingly expressed: "Once, at the age of twenty-two," he writes, "after reading Hegel for ten hours a day for three days (a feat I have never tried again), I said to myself; 'Now or never

is the time to attack Browning'; and the next day I made a desperate effort, which I have never ventured to repeat, to digest Sordello. I regret to say that utter bewilderment was the only result. And yet for sheer blackness and incomprehensibility neither Browning nor Pindar is in it with the Prologues. But in middle age one is more persevering, and I have the audacity now to propose to translate and explain these master pieces of the art of concealing one's meaning and not basely betraying it to the scorner—*fastidientibus prodidisse*, as the author himself phrases it."²² Browning notwithstanding, the full text of the Argument to John, as well as the other three Prologues, when the case requires them, are herewith furnished.

This is John the Evangelist, one of the disciples of God, who was chosen by God a Virgin, whom God called from his marriage, when he was desirous to wed. A twofold witness is given to him of his virginity in the Gospel, first, that he is called beloved by God above others, and secondly, that God, when going to the cross, commended his Mother to him, that the Virgin might be guarded by a virgin. Thereafter, showing in the Gospel what he himself was, commencing the work of the incorruptible word, he alone testifies that the word was made flesh, and that the light was not overtaken by the darkness; *setting down the first sign which God did at the wedding (primum signum ponens quod in nuptiis fecit deus . . .)*, in order that by showing what he himself was, he might show to his readers, that where the Lord is invited, the wine of nuptials ought to be wanting, so that the old things being changed, *all things which are instituted in Christ* may appear new (*noua omnia quae a Christo instituuntur appareant; . . .*). With regard to this, the method of the Gospel shows *each thing that was done or said in a mystery to those who seek (de quo singula quaeque in ministerio acta uel dicta euangelii ratio quaerentibus monstrat)*. He wrote this Gospel in Asia, after he had written the Apocalypse in the island of Patmos, in order that to whom the incorruptible beginning was ascribed in Genesis, to Him might also be ascribed the incorruptible end by a Virgin in the Apocalypse, wherein Christ says: "*I am Alpha and Omega*" (*Ego sum A et Ω*). And it is this John, who knowing the day of his retirement had come, having called together his disciples at Ephesus, and having proved Christ to them by many signs, descended into the place which had been dug for his sepulture, and after praying was gathered to his fathers, as free from pain of death as he was from corruption of the flesh. Though he is said to have written after all the other evangelists, yet in the disposition of the ordered canon he is placed after Matthew; forasmuch as in the Lord what things are latest are not as it were last and vilest in order, but are perfect in their work of fullness; and this was due to the virgin among evangelists. But this disposition of writings in time and the order of the books of the canon is not explained to us in detail, in order that, having excited the desire of knowing it, to the seeker the fruit of his labour may be reserved, and the office of teaching to God.²³

22. *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

23. The translations of the four Priscillian Prologues in this article are, with but one change, those made by Dom Chapman, in whose book, quoted above, the Vulgate text may also be found.

15. Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Paris, 1893, p. 405.

16. Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher*, Friburg im Breisgau, 1906, p. 178.

17. *Op. cit.*, p. 42, "l'entrevue sur le bord du puits."

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

19. *Op. cit.*, p. 342 (23).

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

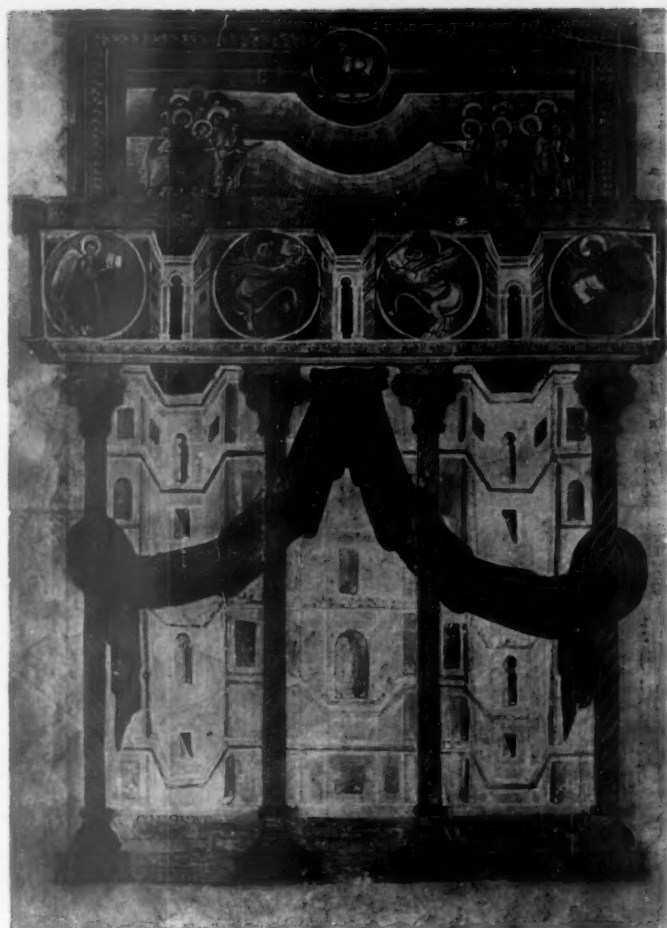


FIG. 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Soissons Gospels, fol. 1^v, Illustration to St. Jerome's Prologue to the Four Gospels



FIG. 2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Soissons Gospels, fol. 180^v, Portrait Page of St. John

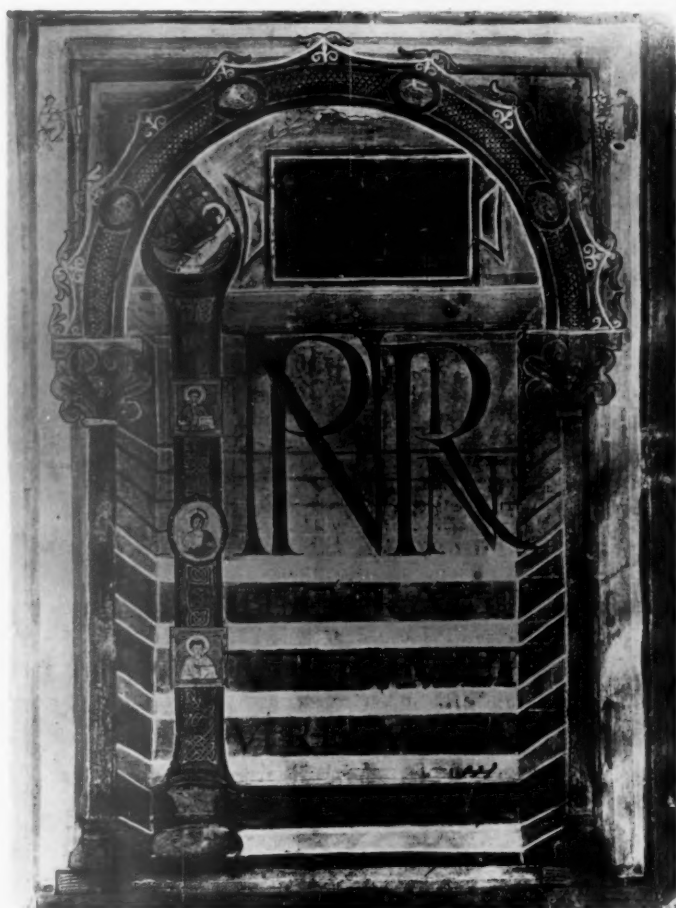


FIG. 3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Soissons Gospels, fol. 181^r, Initial Page of St. John



FIG. 4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Soissons Gospels, fol. 82^r, Initial Page of St. Mark



FIG. 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Soissons Gospels, fol. 81v, Portrait Page of St. Mark

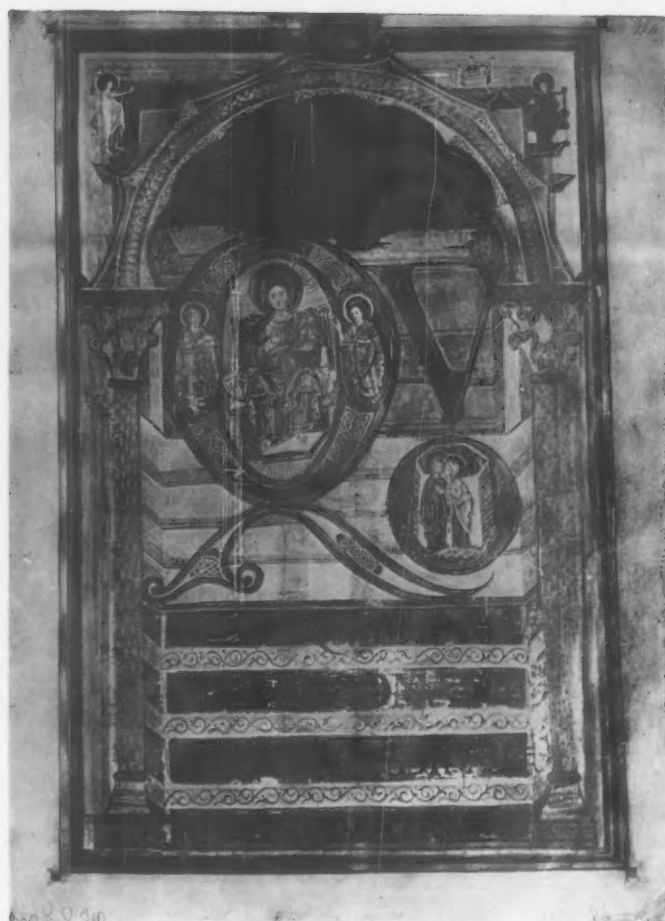


FIG. 6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Soissons Gospels, fol. 124r, Initial Page of St. Luke



FIG. 7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Soissons Gospels, fol. 123v, Portrait Page of St. Luke



FIG. 8. Karlsburg, Bathyaneum: Lorsch Gospels, p. 27, Priscillian Prologue to Matthew

"Setting down the first sign which God did at the wedding, in order that by showing what he himself was, he might show to his readers, that where the Lord is invited the wine of nuptials ought to be wanting. . . ." Here, then, is a clear reference to the Miracle at Cana and an equally clear indication that the source for the little picture in the left spandrel on the Evangelist portrait page may be in the Prologue.

Janitschek believes that the scene in the right spandrel of this page represents the Supper at Emmaus. Clearly this can not be the case since the presence of the fourth figure would then be left unexplained. Only Christ, Cleophas, and another are mentioned by Luke (24:13 ff.), and in any case a reference to that Gospel would be out of place here in John. If this is so, the picture might be an illustration of another incident from the Cana Wedding. But all the figures about the table appear to be men. Furthermore, in such a representation the miraculous wine is brought to the master of the feast (see the iconography of the scene in Carolingian ivories)²⁴ and not to Christ, who is here represented as *architriclinus*. There is abundant evidence, on the other hand, for a third interpretation of the scene in question. Fleury may be correct in recognizing it as the Last Supper or the Institution of the Communion. In the first place, the iconography stresses two features. Not only does Christ stretch out his hand as if to consecrate the cup, but the chalice and the two breads are so obviously displayed that they are clearly intended as the symbols of the Passover table. Any objection on the grounds of incorrect iconography cannot be sustained before the fact of the Carolingian custom of abbreviation or amplification of old themes. Such inventive variation in the number of the Apostles at the Last Supper is not unusual in Carolingian art.²⁵ In the second place, while it is perfectly true that St. John, alone of the four Evangelists, does not refer to the institution of the bread and wine in his account of the Passover (John 13), it is also equally clear that the motivation for the scene is not to be found in the Gospel but in the Argument of Priscillian, where that author, having spoken of the Cana Wedding, now refers to the Institution of the Eucharist: "so that all things being changed, all things which are instituted in Christ may appear new." The author of the Prologue has allied two events, which go together most naturally in Christian art. The artist of the Soissons Gos-

pels, likewise thinking in terms of counterparts, has represented these two scenes on the same page and opposite one another.

The Prologue also may explain the spandrel scenes (Fig. 3) on the initial page of John. The Argument continues: "With regard to this, the method of the Gospel shows each thing that was done or said in a mystery to those who seek." St. John tells of the mystery shown to two such people. The third chapter of his Gospel begins, "There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews; the same came to Jesus by night and said unto him, Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God." It is to Nicodemus that the Prologue refers, in emphasizing the virginity of St. John and the subject of regeneration. His meeting with Christ is therefore illustrated in the left spandrel. In the next chapter, the fourth of his Gospel, St. John tells of the things which Christ said "in a mystery" to the woman of Samaria beside the well of Jacob. "Jesus answered her and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink; thou wouldst have asked him, and he would have given thee living water.—Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life. The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw." The author of the Prologues had this story in mind when he wrote, "With regard to this, the method of the Gospel shows each thing that was done or said in a mystery to those who seek." And, in his turn, the artist of the Soissons Gospels must have been thinking of this sentence in the Argument when he placed with Christ and Nicodemus the scene of Christ and the Woman of Samaria.²⁶

That the artist was really illustrating the Prologue and not the Gospel can be conclusively proved by the following fact. On the Evangelist portrait page before the Gospel of John (Fig. 2), an Alpha and Omega hang from the abaci of the two columns, which frame the seated Evangelist. Since the reference to Alpha and Omega does not occur in John's Gospel but in the Apocalypse and since this manuscript is only a Gospel Book, the presence of

24. Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1914, I, No. 42, pl. xxii, and Nos. 81 and 82, pl. xxiv.

25. Sacramentary of Autun (Autun, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 19), fol. 8^r (Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. xli), twelve apostles; Cambridge Gospels (Corpus Christi College, 286), fol. 125^r, eight apostles; Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9428), fol. 44^v (L. Weber, *Einbanddecken Elfenbeintafeln. Miniaturen Schriftproblem aus Metz liturgischen Handschriften*, Metz, 1913, I, pl. xxii), nine apostles.

26. The letters and numerals found inside the left margin of the initial page of John just below the floriate capital are canon table references to that portion of the text which begins the Gospel. Similar indications are found in relatively the same place on the portrait pages of Mark and Luke. In that of Matthew they occur in the base of the letter I of *Liber*.

these two symbols can be explained only by the text of the Prologue which precedes this folio. The sentence following the cryptic reference to Christ and the Samaritan reads, "He wrote this Gospel in Asia, after he had written the Apocalypse in the island of Patmos, in order that to whom the incorruptible beginning was ascribed in Genesis, to Him might also be ascribed the incorruptible end by a virgin in the Apocalypse, wherein Christ says: I am Alpha and Omega." The presence of these letters in the illumination affords the confirmation of the above suggestion that the Priscillian Prologue of John was used as a direct source by the artist of the Soissons Gospels.

The scenes on the initial page of the Gospel of Mark (Fig. 4), fol. 82^r, are confined within the spandrels by a bead and reel border. The scene to the left was recognized by Janitschek as the Baptism of Christ, and that to the right as the Ministry of the Angels after the Temptation.²⁷ The characteristic iconography of the Baptism and the two angels bearing divine sustenance to the nimbed figure of their Lord verify at once such an identification. On the portrait page opposite (Fig. 5), fol. 81^v, each spandrel contains a single figure of larger proportions than in those of the other corresponding illuminations. The figure on the left is winged and nimbed and bears a slender staff in his left hand. His right is extended toward the figure facing him across the page in the opposite spandrel. This second personage, bearded and with long hair, is likewise nimbed and stands holding out his right hand.

Since the normal source in the Ada School for the illustration of frontispiece pages is found at the beginning of each Gospel, the opening chapter of St. Mark should furnish the text motivation of these spandrel pictures. St. Mark (1:9-13) tells of the Baptism and Temptation of Christ in the first chapter. "And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptised of John in Jordan. And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened, and the Spirit like a dove descending upon him: and there came a voice from heaven saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And immediately the spirit driveth him into the wilderness. And he was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and the angels ministered unto him."

The illustration of the portrait page is explained by the beginning of the first chapter of Mark. "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; as it is written

27. Janitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Beissel (*op. cit.*, p. 178) and Leitschuh (*op. cit.*, p. 343 [35]) mention only the existence of the Baptism. Leitschuh, on p. 160 of his work quoted, calls attention to the occurrence of this same scene in a more abbreviated form on a page of the canon tables of the Soissons Gospels but he does not specify on which one it is to be found. Neither scene is referred to by Fleury.

in the prophets, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." The bearded figure holding out his arm in the gesture of annunciation is therefore John the Baptist.²⁸ The angel confronting him is the messenger or *angelus meus* of the Vulgate text.²⁹ Evidently the artist took his text literally and did not identify the "angel" with the Baptist.

Though these illustrations before St. Mark may have been suggested by the first chapter of that Gospel, the text of the Prologue should be examined as well, for in the light of the discussion of the Argument of John, the Priscillian text may perhaps explain their choice even more directly.

Mark, the evangelist of God, and the son by baptism of Peter and his disciple in the divine word, exercising the priesthood in Israel, being a Levite after the flesh, after he had been converted to the faith of Christ, wrote his Gospel in Italy, showing in it what he owed to his birth and what to Christ. For he commenced the beginning of his introduction with the prophet's cry, thus showing the order of his Levitical election, so that, by pronouncing the predestinated John, the son of Zacharias, to have been sent out as the voice of an (announcing) angel (*ut praedicans praedestinatum Iohannem filium Zachariae in uoce angeli adnuntiantis emissum, . . .*), he showed as the beginning of the Gospel preaching not only the word made flesh, but also the Body of the Lord having the Word of the Divine voice for all the functions of a soul; so that any who reads this might know how to recognize to whom he owed the beginning of the flesh in the Lord, and the Tabernacle of God coming among men, being himself flesh, and might find in himself through the Word of the Voice what he had lost in the consonants. Thereafter, entering upon the work of the perfect Gospel, and beginning to preach God from the Baptism of the Lord (*et a baptismo domini praedicare deum incohans, . . .*), he did not labour to mention the birth of the flesh which he had already conquered in what preceded, but with his whole strength he produced the expulsion into the desert, the fast for a mystic number of days, the temptation by the devil, the fellowship with the wild beasts, and the ministry of the angels (*et ministerium protulit angelorum, . . .*), that, by teaching us to understand, and describing each point briefly, he might at once establish the truth of the facts, and affirm the fullness of the work that was to be perfected. Further, he is said to have cut off his thumb after he had received the faith, in order that he might be accounted unfit for the priesthood. But the predestinated election which corresponded to his faith so prevailed, that even by this he did not lose in the work of the Word what he had formerly received by his birth; for he was

28. Though citing the existence of such a figure in the Soissons Gospels, Leitschuh, *op. cit.*, p. 345 (70), gives no specific reference to the place in the manuscript where it occurs. Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 38, while finding the source for this scene in the first few words of the Gospel of Mark as written on the accompanying frontispiece of Soissons, merely mentions him as "le vieillard qui ordonne."

29. Wordsworth and White, *op. cit.*, *Euangelium secundum Marcum*, p. 189.

bishop of Alexandria, whose work it is to know in detail and dispose the saying of the Gospel in his heart, and recognize the discipline of the law in himself, and understand the Divine Nature of the Lord in the flesh; which things we ourselves also desire to be searched for, and after being searched for to be recognized, having as a reward this exhortation, that "he that planteth and he that watereth are one, but it is God that giveth the increase."

Thereafter entering upon the work of the perfect Gospel and beginning to preach God from the Baptism of the Lord, he did not labour to mention the birth of the flesh which he had already conquered in what preceded, but with his whole strength he produced the expulsion into the desert, the fast for a mystic number of days, the temptation of the devil, the fellowship with the wild beasts, and the ministry of the angels, . . .

In this one sentence we find a reference to both the little scenes at the top of the initial page of Mark.

In comparison to the Vulgate reading, furthermore, the text of the Prologue offers a clearer explanation for the presence of the angel in conjunction with St. John the Baptist. "For he commenced the beginning of his introduction with the voice of the prophet's cry, thus showing the order of his Levitical election, so that, by pronouncing the predestinated John, son of Zacharias, to have been sent out as the voice of an (announcing) angel, . . ." While the Gospel refers to John the Baptist as *angelus meus*, the Prologue speaks of him as having been sent out in *voce angeli adnuntiantis*. The artist, as we have suggested before, has not thought of the identification of the two "characters," but has given an obviously literal translation. For this reason, he has represented opposite the Baptist the figure of an angel bearing in his left hand a staff, as sign of his office, for he is the *announcing angel* of the Priscillian Prologue.

On the portrait page and initial frontispiece to Luke are little spandrel pictures similar to those just discussed. The scene at the top of the frontispiece (Fig. 6), fol. 124^r, is the Annunciation to the Virgin.³⁰ From the left, the Archangel Gabriel, carrying his cross-staff, approaches the Virgin, who is seated in a high-backed chair. The little walled and battlemented city of Nazareth, Janitschek's Bethlehem, is seen above and to her left. In the upper right corner of the portrait page (Fig. 7), fol. 123^v, is the figure of a bearded man, wearing a mitre, and swinging a censer in his right hand. In the corresponding position on the other side of the great cusped arch, an angel, almost identical with the one on the confronting page, approaches the priest with a gesture of annunciation. Above the crown of the arch is a medallion bearing the representa-

tion of an altar. Beissel,³¹ Janitschek,³² and Leitschuh³³ have rightly recognized in this scene the Annunciation to Zacharias in the Temple.

The spandrel illustrations of these two pages seem to have been suggested by Luke 1:5-20. The angel Gabriel appeared to Zacharias "while he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his office," for "according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord." Then, following the account of the birth of John, comes the story of the Annunciation of Gabriel to the Virgin, beginning at verse twenty-six of the Gospel.

Two other illustrations appear upon this interesting initial frontispiece. Within the capital O of *Quoniam*, the first word in Luke's Gospel, is the little picture of the Visitation. As usual, the scene takes place before a hexagonal building, the shorthand indication for a city in Judah or the house of Zacharias itself. It may be explained by the first chapter of the Gospel.³⁴ More prominent, however, is the illumination of the great initial Q. Within this letter is the figure of the youthful Christ, cross-nimbed and seated upon a cushion of a great throne, a footrest beneath his feet. With his right hand he gives the benediction, while his left rests upon a book held upon his knee. On the surface of the initial, decorated with the same splendid interlaces found on the frontispiece to Matthew, are two oval panels containing the figures of two men. The one on the left is bearded, but both are dressed alike and each is nimbed and holds a scroll. What is the meaning of this picture? Berger merely notes that before St. Luke there is a beardless Christ upon a throne,³⁵ a representation which Leitschuh compares to a similar figure in another member of the Ada group, the Gospels of Godescalc.³⁶ Beissel, on the other hand, hazards the suggestion that this is the Transfiguration.³⁷ The Transfiguration is found in Luke's Gospel to be sure, but it is separated from the accounts of the Annunciation and Visitation by eight chapters and can hardly be associated theologically with these two events. Obviously Christ is flanked by two prophets with scrolls in their hands. But in representations of the Transfiguration Christ is never seated upon a throne, nor does the throne ever appear

31. *Op. cit.*, p. 178, note 2.

32. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

33. *Op. cit.*, pp. 187 and 341 (2). Fleury, *op. cit.*, does not note its existence.

34. Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 41, erroneously identifies it as the meeting of Joseph and Mary.

35. *Op. cit.*, p. 405.

36. *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

37. *Op. cit.*, p. 178. From the standpoint of iconography alone Fleury's identification of the picture (*op. cit.*, p. 41) as the young Christ among the Doctors is obviously farfetched and unacceptable.

30. Leitschuh, *op. cit.*, p. 341 (3). On p. 145 he refers vaguely to another representation of this scene which is found on the medallion at the crown of the arch of the canon table on fol. 7^r of Soissons. Fleury, *op. cit.*, omits any reference to it.

above the mountain over which the miracle occurred. This, then, cannot be the correct interpretation. There must be some other text which links these three scenes together and explains the puzzling initial illustration as well. Again the source nearest at hand, other than the Gospel itself, is the Priscillian Prologue.

Luke, a Syrian of Antioch by nation, by profession a physician, a disciple of the Apostles, later followed Paul until his confession, serving God without blame. For he never had a wife or children, and died at the age of seventy-four in Bythynia, full of the Holy Ghost. When Gospels had already been written, by Matthew in Judea and by Mark in Italy, at the instigation of the Holy Spirit he wrote this Gospel in the parts of Achaia, and he also signified in the commencement that others had previously been written. Apart from the demand made by the order of the disposition of the Gospels the principal object of his toil was that he should labour that the Greek faithful might, by the manifestation of all the perfection of God coming in the flesh, be prevented from giving themselves to the study of Jewish fables, and from being held by the desire of the law only, and that they might not be seduced by heretical fables and by foolish questions, and so depart from the truth. And further, that in the beginning of his Gospel, *having first given the birth of John (dehinc ut in principio euangelii, Iohannis natiuitate praesumpta, . . .)*, he might point out for whom he wrote his Gospel, and the purpose of his election to write it, attesting that what was begun by others was finished by him. To him power was granted after the baptism of the Son of God to reckon back the human birth from its beginning, starting from *the perfection of the generation fulfilled in Christ*, in order that he might show forth to seekers, by admitting into the list the entrance of a *genealogy running back to God through the son Nathan*, how the indivisible God, proclaiming His Christ among men, has made the work of the perfect man return to himself by *the son of David* — He who by David the father offered in Christ a way to those who came to Him (*Cui ideo, post baptismum filii dei, a perfectione generationis in Christo impletae et repetendae a principio natiuitatis humanae potestas permissa est, ut requirentibus demonstraret in quo adprehendens erat, per Nathan filium introitu recurrentis in deum generationis admissio, indispartibilis deus ut praedicans in hominibus Christum suum, perfecti opus hominis redire in se per filium faceret, qui per David patrem uenientibus iter praebebat in Christo*). To this Luke ministerial power was deservedly given of also writing the Acts of the Apostles, that God being full in God, and the son of perdition being dead, after prayer had been made by the Apostles, the number of election might be made complete by the lot of the Lord, and that thus Paul might supply the consummation of the Acts of the Apostles, whom the Lord chose after he had long kicked against the pricks. And though it had been useful for us to explain this in detail for readers and seekers after God, yet knowing that the working husbandman ought to eat the fruits of his own labour, we avoid the curiosity of the public, lest we should appear less by revealing God to the desirous, than to have betrayed Him to scorners.

Though the Prologue does not mention the particular episode directly, the Annunciation to Zacharias is clearly meant by the words: "that in the beginning of his Gospel,

having first given the birth of John. . . ." Assuming this to be so, the reference to the other three scenes should not be far off. In fact it is contained in the very next sentence of the Argument. "To him power was granted after the baptism of the Son of God to reckon back the human birth from its beginning, starting from the perfection of the generation fulfilled in Christ, in order that he might show forth to seekers, by admitting into the list the entrance of a genealogy running back to God through the son Nathan, how the indivisible God, proclaiming His Christ among men, has made the work of the perfect man return to himself by the Son of David — He who by David the father offered in Christ a way to those who came to Him." The author of the Prologue is naturally drawing from the third chapter of the Gospel in which Luke, after the account of John and the Baptism, gives the genealogy of Jesus Christ. But as Chapman says, "contrast with St. Matthew is intended, who traces the genealogy downwards through Solomon, and not upwards through Nathan. Nathan, son of David, is the type of Christ, so that the genealogy of St. Luke is said to show how the work of man when perfect rises up to the Father through the Son typified by Nathan, just as that of St. Matthew, descending through David, showed the Father making a way downward for those who were to rise; in Matthew we see the condescension of the Father, in Luke the return to him through the Son. If this is not what the writer meant, then something at least as far-fetched and as carefully 'hidden from seekers.'"³⁸ The artist of the Soissons Gospels, even if he were a zealous "seeker," was not a very careful reader of the Argument. Caught in the toils of so much argument, he confused Nathan, the son of David, with Nathan, the prophet. The former was not a well-defined character in his mind, whereas the latter was familiar to him as the prophet to whom God spoke commanding him to "go and tell my servant David, Thus saith the Lord, — when thy days are fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build an house for my name, and I will establish the *throne* of his kingdom forever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son. . . . And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee; thy *throne* shall be established forever."³⁹ The artist must have had these words of Samuel in mind as he read the Prologue, words motivated by Luke himself in beginning his Gospel. For it was the Priscillian Argument which suggested to him the genealogical picture on the frontispiece of Luke. He represented Christ seated upon the throne of his ancestor,

38. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

39. II Samuel 6: 4 ff.

David, who stands at his left hand, while upon his right is Nathan, the prophet who foretold the word of God and the coming of Christ.

The other two pictures on this frontispiece are intimately related to the scene in the initial, for they too have to do with the genealogy of Christ. "Starting from the perfection of the generation fulfilled in Christ . . .," reads the Argument. The artist accordingly represents the Annunciation and Visitation. The choice of scenes, beginning with the Annunciation to Zacharias on the author portrait page and continuing through the Annunciation to the Virgin, the Visitation, and the "ancestor" initial of Christ on the frontispiece, is thus perfectly logical when it is considered to be motivated by the Priscillian Prologue to St. Luke.

The evidence which we have been examining so far justifies the conclusion that the Priscillian Prologues were used as a source for certain of the illustrations in the Soissons Gospels. But this case is not unique and Soissons is not the only manuscript in the Ada School which uses the Arguments as a source for its illustration.

III

Sometime during the ninth century a scribe at the Abbey of Lorsch made an entry in the library catalogue: "*Evangelium pictum auro Scriptum habens tabulas eburneas.*"⁴⁰ Scholars have identified this ivory-covered manuscript with a celebrated member of the Ada group, the Codex Aureus of Lorsch. Divided into two parts, this Evangelary exists today in two European libraries: the Bathyaneum at Karlsburg (Gyulafehérvár), Rumania; and the Vatican Library (Pal. lat. 50) in Rome.

The first half of the Gospels of Lorsch is in Rumania. Besides the text of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the manuscript includes the ten canons and the usual Prefaces, *Plures fuisse* and *Novum opus*, as well as the two Priscillian Prologues of Matthew and Mark.⁴¹

The Prologue to Matthew begins on page twenty-seven of the Golden Codex of Lorsch (Fig. 8).⁴²

Matthew, who was of the Jews, even as he is placed first in order, so he was the first to write a Gospel, in Judea. His vocation to God was from the practice of the business of a publican. He took, in the history of the generation of Christ, his starting-points from two men, the one who received the first circumci-

sion in the flesh, Abraham, the other David, who was elected as a man according to God's own heart, and through both of these God was in His own fathers. And so, Having thrice set down fourteen generations (*Sique quaternario denario numero triformiter posito*), first stretching out his starting-point from the faith of Abraham to the time of David's election, next drawing it out from that election to the time of the transmigration to Babylon, and thirdly marking its end from the transmigration up to Christ, he showed forth the progress of generation of the Lord's advent, in such wise that, by the fulness of the mystical number and of the time, he showed forth what he himself was, and while exhibiting God's work in himself, he denied not the witness to the working of Christ from the beginning even in those whose genealogy was set down by him. Now the God Christ is the time, the order, the number, the arrangement, and the reason of all these things — He who was made of a woman, made under the law, born of a Virgin, who suffered in the flesh, nailed all things to his cross, triumphing over them in himself, rising again in the body, in order that He might restore the name of father in the fathers to the son, and the name of son to the Father in the sons, He who is without beginning, without end, showing himself to be of one nature with the Father since He is one Person with Him. In this Gospel it is profitable for those who seek God so to recognize the beginning, the middle, and the completion, as to understand both the calling of the apostle, and the work of the Gospel, and the love of God born in the flesh, when they read the whole book. For our intention in composing this preface was not only to hand down the truth of the facts, but also to declare to those who seek, that they must be diligent in understanding the orderly manner of God's working.

The beginning of this Argument to Matthew is written in two columns of nine lines each placed in the intercolumniations of four columns of variegated marble whose foliate capitals support a rectangular frame. Breaking the top margin of this frame and resting upon a sort of curtained podium is a mandorla containing the enthroned Christ in glory. Surrounding this pedestal, which looks like the *suggestum* of a Roman general, stand thirty-nine men, divided into three groups, saluting their Lord with outstretched right arm. In each group is a square frame containing a portrait bust. The portrait directly below the mandorla bears the letters DA(VID), that to the right IE (CHO)/N(IAS). The inscription on the third is illegible.

This illustration is explained by Matthew 1:17: "So all the generations from Abraham until David are fourteen generations; and from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations." Here, then, are the ancestors of Christ grouped below Him in three bands of fourteen generations. With the aid of the Gospel and the clues afforded by the labels themselves we may identify the framed portraits as David, flanked by the bearded patriarch Abraham and by Jecho-nias, who was born during the Captivity.

But it is not necessary to go to the Gospel to find the

40. Robert Szentiványi, "Der Codex Aureus von Lorsch jetzt in Gyulafehérvár," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benedictiner-Ordens*, Salzburg, 1912, p. 131.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 148. The Vatican portion of the Manuscript, Cod. Pal. lat. 50, has the Priscillian Arguments of Luke and John (Henry Stevenson, Jr., *Codices Palatini latini*, 1, Rome, 1886, pp. viii, cxxxii, and 332 [L. 120]).

42. The Gospels of Lorsch is paginated, not foliated.

meaning of this illustration in the Lorsch Gospels. This picture is found at the top of the very page on which is written the beginning of the Priscillian Argument to Matthew. No more succinct or graphic description of this scene could be found than in the words of the Prologue itself: "*Sique quaternario denario numero triformiter posito.*" The artist has literally taken his cue for this composition from the words *triformiter posito*. For this reason he represents the fourteen generations in this peculiar tripartite arrangement about the figure of Christ who is seated on the throne of David, even as he was in the picture of like character, the "ancestor" initial on the frontispiece to St. Luke in the Soissons Gospels. It is important that in the Lorsch Codex this picture is not used as a frontispiece to the beginning of the Gospel but as the very frontispiece to the Priscillian Prologue itself, and is therefore to be considered as an illustration not of the Gospel but of the Argument.

In a final summing up, we may say that an Ada Gospel Book may have illustrations not only to the Gospel text but also to certain material prefacing that text. In the case of the Apocalyptic page in the Soissons Gospels the illustration immediately precedes the Preface of Jerome as its frontispiece. Later in the same manuscript certain other pictures are found to be motivated by the proper Priscillian Prologue that precedes the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John. Furnishing conclusive proof of the Prologues as a directly motivating text for Ada Gospel Book illustration is the "ancestor" page of Lorsch, obviously inspired by the Prologue to Matthew, whose text begins on the very same page. All the evidence, therefore, firmly establishes it as a fact that not only the Gospels but certain Prefaces, notably the four Priscillian Prologues, were the direct sources for the illustration of Gospel Books of the Ada School of Carolingian manuscript illumination.

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A MARBLE RELIEF ATTRIBUTABLE TO DONATELLO AND SOME ASSOCIABLE STUCCOS

W. L. HILDBURGH

THE Victoria and Albert Museum's small oval relief (No. 93-1882) of painted stucco representing the Virgin and Child adored by two angels and two saints (Fig. 3)¹ is of considerable interest, not only for its own sake but also for its relation to two other reliefs—one of stucco, the other of marble—which clearly are connected with it. The Museum's catalogue,² which tells us that it was acquired in Florence some sixty-five years ago, describes it as "The Virgin and Child with two angels, St. Bartholomew, and another saint," gives its size as 16½ x 12½ in. ("42 x 32 m."), states that its original coloring is still preserved, and adds that its wooden frame—carved, gilt, and painted—is the original one. The catalogue's attribution of this stucco to Donatello agrees with that accorded unquestioningly in much of the extensive literature concerned with Donatello's work, whether in relation to Italian Quattrocento sculpture in general or to him in particular.³ It has been considered of exceptional importance because it reproduces (although, as we shall see, with some alterations) a composition presumed to be datable about 1430, embodying what has by some scholars been supposed to be perhaps the earliest of Donatello's many Madonnas.⁴ A hypothesis has been advanced, perhaps based on analogies to the Herodias relief at Siena (cf. p. 17 *infra*), perhaps on the general lowness of the relief, that the original composition was of bronze.

1. Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum from its negative No. 63633; its negative No. 11658, on a somewhat larger scale and made under different illumination, is for some details more satisfactory.

2. *Victoria and Albert Museum: Catalogue of Italian Sculpture*, by Eric Maclagan and Margaret H. Longhurst, London, 1932; cf. pp. 18 f.

3. To its eleven specific citations mentioned in the Museum *Catalogue*, others have been added since 1932.

4. Cf. A. G. Meyer, *Donatello* (trans. by P. G. Konody, from the German edition of 1903), London, 1904, p. 71; *Catalogue cit.*, p. 19.

A painted stucco relief, identical in composition with the Victoria and Albert Museum's relief, except for two angels in the place of the latter's two saints and in some minor details, belongs to Professor Werner Weisbach,⁵ who courteously has had a photograph of it made for me (Fig. 2). This stucco, 38.5 x 30 cm. and in a frame 60 x 48 cm., was bought by Professor Weisbach, he has informed me, from the Florentine dealer Stefano Bardini, without history of any kind. Comparison of the photograph reproduced in Fig. 2 with a photograph in the catalogue of the famous Gigli-Campana Collection⁶ at Florence proves that the Weisbach object is the one figured in pl. xxxvii of that catalogue. Migliarini describes the Gigli object as a "Basso-rilievo in marmo. Imitazione di Lorenzo Ghiberti," but I have no hesitation in pronouncing, on the evidence of a number of small casual imperfections in it and in its frame, that he was wrong and that the Gigli relief was the stucco, still in the same frame, now belonging to Professor Weisbach. When the Gigli-Campana Collection was dispersed, many of its items were bought by the antiquary Bardini; it seems probable, therefore, that the relief in question entered the Bardini Collection at that time and remained there until sold to Professor Weisbach.

Comparison of the Museum's stucco with Professor Weisbach's is very instructive. Their dimensions suggest at once that both have been cast from a single original; Professor Weisbach's measures, according to him, 38.5 x 30 cm., and the Museum's, according to the *Catalogue*, a little less than 42 x 32 cm. The disagreements of these measurements are sufficiently small to be accounted for by

5. Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, fig. 58 and pp. 71 f.; F. Schottmüller, *Donatello*, Munich, 1904, p. 20; Lord Balcarras, *Donatello*, London, 1903, p. 184; M. Cruttwell, *Donatello*, London, 1911, p. 135; H. Kauffmann, *Donatello*, Berlin, 1935, p. 218, n. 210.

6. A. M. Migliarini, *Museo di sculture del Risorgimento raccolto e posseduto da Ottavio Gigli*, Florence, 1858. The work is illustrated by silver-prints of the objects it describes.

lack of precise coincidence in the points, on the two stuccos, between which they were taken, and by the vagaries of stucco depending (cf. p. 15 *infra*) on its composition, its treatment while plastic, and its drying. In the Weisbach stucco we have, I think, a virtually unchanged version of the original relief from which the Victoria and Albert Museum's stucco was taken (on the several small alterations, see p. 15 *infra*). The two saints of the Museum's stucco clearly are adaptations of the angels whose places they have usurped. There have been some alterations in their clothing above their waists and each has been provided, partly in stucco and partly in paint, with a nimbus. One is but little changed save for the crown (a very distinct crack along whose lower edge marks where it has been applied), while the other has been given a beard,⁷ in stucco and paint, and in paint an extended right arm⁸ and hand holding a knife⁹ toward the Madonna. The wings of both have been eradicated. Kauffmann takes the view,¹⁰ as I do, that the Weisbach stucco represents the earlier of the two versions, and that the saints of the Museum's stucco obviously are altered angels; and Meyer points¹¹ to the greater harmony in the composition of the Weisbach version. Miss Cruttwell, on the other hand, believes¹² that the Weisbach relief is an imitation, a much inferior variation, of the South Kensington relief. Dr. Schottmüller, who regarded the Weisbach stucco, because of its flat style, as probably a model for a relief to be executed in marble, refers¹³ to the Museum's stucco as an altered repetition. And Lord Balcarres suggests¹⁴ that both stuccos probably were originals and not casts.

There has been a corresponding variety of opinion regarding the two saints of the Museum's relief. Bode, after saying that the relief was "freilich kein Original,"¹⁵ identified one figure as St. Paul (presumably accepting as a sword the small knife) and the other as King David.

7. This beard, like its owner's hair, is darkish green, quite unlike the black of his garments, whereas the companion figure, the two angels, and the Child, all have yellowish hair.

8. The stucco still seems to show, however, a trace of the angel's hand which in the marble version, as in the Weisbach stucco, is against his breast.

9. This knife seemed to me so peculiar a feature of the South Kensington stucco that I examined it closely and carefully under a lens. It is clearly a knife, and is painted on a flat surface of paint; I was unable to detect traces of any other emblem which it might conceivably have supplanted.

10. *Loc. cit.*

11. *Loc. cit.*

12. *Loc. cit.*

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. *Loc. cit.*

15. W. Bode (and F. Brückmann), *Denkmäler der Renaissance-Sculptur toscanas*, Munich, 1892-1905, p. 21; the object is reproduced in pl. 70, appearing fairly early in the work.

The Museum's catalogue identifies the habited figure as St. Bartholomew (again presumably because of the knife) but passes the crowned one without attempt at identification. Balcarres remarks¹⁶ that "the crowned saint of the London version was copied at a later date on a well-known plaquette," thereby suggesting to minds more suspicious (in the present case at least) than his that the Museum's stucco — in its day trivial and unimportant¹⁷ — more probably was made or altered following the plaquette instead of the reverse. And Meyer, having spoken first of the Weisbach stucco, says,¹⁸ "On the London copy these two angels are replaced by two male saints, one of whom is wearing a crown. Their identity is as doubtful as the reason for the change."

I suggest that the crowned figure may perhaps represent St. Casimir, Prince of Poland and Duke of Lithuania, a young Franciscan renowned for the purity of his life — a purity symbolized by the lily with which he often is shown and which I think may have been painted on the stucco as held in his left hand and resting on his left shoulder¹⁹ — and for his devout attachment to the Virgin Mary. The substitution of his image for one of an angel would have seemed peculiarly fitting because, as the Bollandists tell us, from his childhood on his purity and chastity were wholly "angelic," and at his death angels came to seek his soul to conduct it to heaven. His popularity in Renaissance Italy, based on the sweetness and purity of his life, doubtless was in some degree fostered by his family connection with the reigning house of Mantua, the two last Kings of Poland, Ladislas and Casimir, having in turn married Marie-Louise Gonzaga. He died in 1482, and was canonized by Pope Leo X (1513-1522). He was appealed to for intercession against pest, prevalent in Italy in the early sixteenth century.

The saint at the Madonna's right presents a problem less plausibly solvable if we must accept the painted knife in his right hand as original and not a misinterpretation by some ignorant "restorer." I cannot but feel that there was at least a lack of taste in depicting a person holding a knife with its sharp edge towards the enthroned Virgin and Child. A saint who could most fittingly occupy the place of the enigmatic figure is Francis of Assisi; and were it not for the knife one might advance arguments that the figure was indeed intended to represent him. But even though I have never heard of any such representa-

16. *Loc. cit.*

17. Kauffmann refers to it (*op. cit.*, p. 68) as "unscheinbar."

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

19. I confess that I have been unable to discover any trace of the white flower which should, if a lily was indeed depicted, have been shown at the end of the stalk he appears to be holding. But as the shoulder the flower would have rested on is somewhat salient, it may perhaps be that the white paint with which such a flower would have been represented has been worn away.



FIG. 1a. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Loan): White Marble Relief (V. and A. Museum Negative)



FIG. 1b. Reverse of Fig. 1a (V. and A. Museum Negative)



FIG. 2. Basel, Professor W. Weisbach: Painted Stucco Relief (Courtesy Professor Weisbach)



FIG. 3. London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Painted Stucco Relief (Courtesy V. and A. Museum)



FIG. 5. London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Marble Relief, The Ascension with Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter (Courtesy V. and A. Museum)

FIG. 4. London, National Gallery: Masaccio, Virgin and Child (Courtesy National Gallery)



FIG. 6. Naples, Brancacci Tomb: Portion of Marble Relief



FIG. 8. Florence, Santa Croce: Detail of Marble Relief on Tabernacle

FIG. 7. Rome, St. Peter's: Marble Tabernacle (Bode, *Denkmäler*), With Relief of Fig. 1a Conjecturally Placed



FIG. 9. Siena, S. Giovanni: Detail of Bronze Relief on Font

tion, I think it not inconceivable that St. Francis might have been depicted as offering a weapon in allusion to his having given up a soldier's life for one of religious devotion. There are several reasons, apart from those which would apply in the cases of most other Christian saints, for placing an image of St. Francis in the particular situation occupied by the figure in question. It was in the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli that Francis underwent a change that made him one of the most beloved saints of the Calendar; he was reputed to be in exceptionally close touch with those angelic beings who dwell in heaven; and it would have been decidedly appropriate that he should be shown, not only with the Madonna among angels but, symbolizing the honor she had accorded him, placed on her right hand. And the appropriateness would have been supported by the presence, on the other side of the Madonna's throne, of another Franciscan saint. Furthermore, although I have been unable to find a trace of any emblem which might have been replaced by the knife,²⁰ I think we should keep in mind the possibility that some ignorant person may have changed into a knife the lily so often to be seen in St. Francis's hand.

I have discussed the identities of the two saints of the London stucco in what may have appeared, at first, unmerited detail, not because of what might be exceptional iconographic features, but because of their possible bearing on the age and the authorship of that object. If the crowned saint is Casimir, as I suggest, the present version cannot be of Donatello's time, because Casimir was still a small child when Donatello died. I shall try to demonstrate that the original version — of which we have, I believe, a reproduction in Professor Weisbach's stucco — was indeed by Donatello and, further, that it still exists in virtually its initial form. I presume that a stucco cast from the original relief was worked over (as often occurred with a stucco copy) before the lime hardened so as to produce, through additional transformations effected by painting, the South Kensington Museum's version. However, I also think it conceivable that although in preparing that version a reproduction of the original relief might have been cast in the fifteenth century, as the frame suggests, the modifications might all have been made later. The *modeling* has been altered only through the removal of the wings of the upper angels, the addition of a small segment of a nimbus back of the head of each of them, and the affixing of a crown (resting uneasily, as indicated by the crack along its lower edge) to one head. The other changes have been produced by painting. The presence of Casimir — if it indeed be he — on a fifteenth-century cast might thus be accounted for.²¹

20. Cf. note 9.

21. If the saints are, as I suggest, Casimir and Francis, then the

In the marble relief reproduced in Fig. 1a²² we have, I think, the original from which the Weisbach stucco was shaped, direct and without subsequent modeling. So closely do its dimensions accord with those of the stucco as to confirm unquestionably a near relationship to that stucco; the *sculptured* area (i.e. the part enclosed within the plain rim) of the marble is approximately 38.3 x 28.15 cm.,²³ while the stucco is 38.5 x 30 cm.²⁴ The marble was until recently in what remained of the Capel-Cure Collection, the major part of which was dispersed at Christie's in May of 1905. According to the title page of their sale catalogue, that collection had been "formed by Edward Cheney, Esq., of Badger Hall, Shropshire," who collected in Italy in the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century.²⁵ The catalogue attributes it (Lot 226) to "Pesino [properly Pierino] da Vinci." Bought in, it retired to seclusion until its reappearance, still among the remnants of the Capel-Cure Collection, to be sold (as Lot 605) on September 13, 1945. Then purchased by Mr. Alfred Spero, it was brought to London and sold by him to a private collector the following day. It is now deposited on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum. If, as is presumable, it was indeed one of the objects collected by Edward Cheney, it would seem very probable that he bought it in Italy about the middle of the last century. Its presence at the 1905 sale is mentioned, but without comment beyond "cf. Migliarini, p. 33, pl. xxxvii," in the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture*, p. 19. Although personally I have no doubts concerning its age and authenticity, the circumstance that certain distinguished critics have considered it to have been made in the nineteenth century demands of us the closest possible scrutiny of it in all its aspects; and this the more so because of the particular period of Donatello's activity to which I believe it should be attributed, and its place in the development of his art.

So far as I have been able to discover, only one *specific* reason has been alleged for the attribution of the marble to a nineteenth-century craftsman; except for that one, the doubters' ground for misgiving was that the "feeling" of the workmanship indicated that it had been

stucco might have been made, like certain analogous representations of saints whose intercession similarly was invoked against pest, prevalent in Italy at the time, in the hope of securing protection against that dread disease.

22. Reproduced from a negative of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

23. The whole oval, including the rim, is approximately 41 x 33 cm.

24. Dimensions sent me by Professor Weisbach, and presumably those of the area within the rim. But even if they include the rim, the discrepancies are too small, considering the nature of stucco (cf. p. 15 *infra*), to affect the validity of the comparison.

25. He is recorded as having bought an object in Florence in 1854, and another in 1847.

done less than a century ago. How deceptive subjective attributions can be, at least in the case of the present composition, has been exemplified by the variety of opinions (cf. *supra*) expressed by a number of distinguished art critics, writing on Donatello, in the matter of the two stuccos corresponding to our marble; so diverse are those opinions that clearly they cannot all be right. As I understand the criticisms, the single *specific* reason advanced for disquietude seems to be a certain flattening of the relief in the higher parts of the surface and the conjunction of large smoothed areas with areas where the carving has obviously been abandoned unfinished. In that conjunction the marble differs from what I take to be its nearest analogue, the *Ascension with Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter* (Fig. 5;²⁶ cf. p. 17 *infra*), the carving of which covers the entire surface but has been left wholly unpolished.

That our marble oval has been abandoned unfinished is demonstrated unquestionably by a number of imperfections. Portions of the median vertical line, used in marking out the design, remain visible within the arch and at the bottom of the relief; there is a difference between the two halves of the arched front of the niche wherein the Madonna sits enthroned, two of its semi-circular bands having been cut only half way round (i.e. as far as the median line); the two rosettes are only preliminarily roughed out; and the edges of some of the more salient parts of certain of the figures appear not to have received their final shapings. The degree of relief is exceptionally low throughout, and that of the details of the several figures astonishingly so, but the modeling everywhere is extremely subtle, and in places so delicate that, in the relief's present condition, it is difficult to discern unless viewed at an angle or sensed through the finger tips. In some of the more salient parts (e.g. the locks of the angels' heads) the abrasion suffered has been sufficient to falsify — were it not for the apparent effect on the judgment of certain critics, one might say slightly — the intended pictorial values.

Because of the over-all extraordinarily flattened *stiacciato*, I suggest as possible that the smoothing of certain parts might have been proceeded with before the smoothing of certain other parts had been completed, in order that its ultimate effect might be foreseen — that is, that it was to some extent experimental. And I think that some small changes might have come about through accidental rubbing; for, as I shall point out below (p. 18), there appears some reason to suppose that for a time our oval served as part of a tabernacle door, and if that were indeed so, the cleaning and handling to which in conse-

quence it could have been subject might well have removed some of the carved surface of the tender marble. I think, nevertheless, that the effect that the critics have found so disquieting is a result of treatment considerably more drastic. Photographs of Professor Weisbach's stucco show that, whereas in all other respects it reproduces in minute detail the features of our marble (cf. *infra*), it differs in one important point. The front of the great rectangular column to the Madonna's right is in two levels whose junction is recorded in the photograph (Fig. 2) by the bright line descending vertically from the column's capital to the angel-musician's head.²⁷ Possibly there may have been a corresponding lower-level strip along the further edge of the front of the column; I think that our marble suggests that there was not, but the situation of the adoring angel and the patch of paint adjacent to his elbow make me hesitate to offer a definite opinion.²⁸ I think we need hardly make allowance for the possibility that the low-level strip might have been introduced before the stucco hardened, because the opposite column, which could have been altered as easily, shows no analogous strip. Now, in the marble the column to Our Lady's right is quite smooth and without architectural ornament. To me it is inconceivable that any modern forger capable of copying in the marble, accurately and in perfect proportion, every tiny detail of the stucco could have failed to observe and to copy so manifest a detail as the one in question. What has happened would seem pretty obvious. At some time after the stucco was cast, and for some reason at which we can only guess, the original surface of the carving was abraded, presumably purposely, sufficiently to remove from the column every trace of its ornament (and, in addition, very considerably to soften the definition of the corners of both columns); in the process the pictorial values of other parts of the carving were so affected as to produce the effect that has so disturbed a number of the carving's critics.

The two stuccos would seem to yield us clear testimony in favor of the antiquity of the marble oval. That the stuccos are old has never, so far as I know, been questioned; my own doubts concerning the London one, expressed above, relate only to whether it was made during Donatello's lifetime or later. And in each of them we may see distinct traces of the unfinished state of the marble

27. Fig. 2 is from a negative made specially for me and in my possession. Professor Weisbach kindly sent me, in addition, a print from a negative made under different illumination, which I at first took to indicate that the column was paneled in conformity with the coffering of the soffit of the arch. My present view, based on Fig. 2, is that the adornment of the column is salient, not sunken.

28. I have not found, in the photograph here reproduced, any trace of an analogous strip on the column which the Virgin faces; it may well be that the front of that column remained uncarved.

26. Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, from its negative No. 58382.

relief — traces manifest enough when searched for but very far from so pronounced as to suggest to a nineteenth-century forger their introduction into a copy, or to suggest, on the assumption that the London stucco expresses the original design, a fresh composition carved in marble.²⁹ These traces³⁰ include: (a) in both stuccos, the hollowing, as far as the median setting-out line of the arch, of the innermost band on the front of the arch, while the corresponding portion beyond the median line remains solid, and an analogous treatment of the second band beyond this; (b) in both, a trace of the median line for a little distance above the inner band of the arch, and a faint trace of the corresponding median line at the bottom; (c) in both, the counterpart of a tiny flaw in the marble, in the lowest horizontal band above the curve of the arch and a little to the right of the median line, and a trace of a nick in the marble in the second radial to the left of the arch's central radial; and (d) in the London stucco what looks to be (though I do not insist on this) a trace, in relief, of the hand of the original angel, just above the sleeve of the bearded saint.

Further indications that, except where specially modified (as in the transfiguration of two of the angels and in the altering, not by remodeling but by painting, of the two rosettes in the spandrels into striated shells), the London stucco has been reproduced from our marble are the precise repetition in that stucco of the angel-musicians, wing for wing, lock for lock of their hair, fold for fold of their garments, and the peculiar shape, a result of the removal of a little too much of the stone, of the upper edge of the viol. What appears to me a conclusive proof that the stucco has been cast from our carving and cannot, instead, have served (as suggested by some critics; cf. *supra*) as a model for a modern forger's fabrication of that carving, is that it is in all parts slightly larger than the carving. A number of measurements, taken between certain points on the stucco and between corresponding points on the marble have shown, quite unexpectedly, that the stucco is about 2.5 to 3.5 per cent larger than the marble.³¹ It would require too great credulity to believe that a forger could (or would) have calculated the

approximately precise reduction appropriate to each detail. The differences in size have been caused by the lime, which was an essential and the principal ingredient of the plastic material used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for making durable reproductions. Vasari tells us³² that stucco for decoration was made of pulverized marble or travertine mixed with slaked lime in the proportion of two parts of lime to one of marble. Lime expands very considerably during slaking, which requires a long time for its completion, so that if employed too soon for making stucco, the composition, being mainly lime, may continue to expand long after it has been fashioned into shape. And as the speed of slaking not only depends on the physical conditions under which it takes place but is affected also by even small amounts of certain impurities often present in lime, it may be very difficult for a craftsman to ascertain if his lime is fully slaked and fit for making stucco for modeling. As the proposition has been advanced — by Meyer as a possibility,³³ in the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture* as a probability,³⁴ and verbally to me as an actual fact — that the Museum's stucco reproduces an original in bronze, it is perhaps worth recording that in that stucco I have perceived nothing, beyond the lowness of its relief, even to suggest that it necessarily was cast from a bronze prototype.

Professor Weisbach's stucco testifies analogously that it also was taken from our marble, but that it was left virtually as it came from the mould, suffering only very trivial further modeling. Except for some tidying up of the rosette in the right-hand spandrel of the arch, and the presence in the stucco of the very shallow strip (the importance of whose absence from the marble I have pointed out), on the front of the square column supporting the arches, there appears to be the fullest agreement between the completed elements (i.e. the figures and the architectural details) of the marble and the corresponding elements of the stucco. The nimbi of the Virgin and the Child have been painted on a flat surface of the stucco.

There are several vertical cracks in the marble oval (Figs. 1a, 1b), and two metal clamps have been set in its edge to keep them from extending; the dissimilarity of those clamps, one being of iron and the other of copper or bronze, suggests that they were inserted at different times. Few, if any, reflections of these cracks are to be discerned in either the Museum's stucco or Professor Weisbach's, wherefore it would seem, even keeping in mind the ease with which faults in a fresh stucco cast may be corrected, that the injuries to the marble were subsequent to the production of the stucco copies.

29. Lest it be thought that I am importing into the discussion too fantastic a supposition, I feel that I should record that precisely that opinion has been expressed to me, quite seriously, by more than one doubter of the antiquity of the carving.

30. Some of them, not clear in the photographs (Figs. 2, 3), may be seen in the Museum's earlier photograph (No. 11658) and in a second photograph of his stucco, differently illuminated, sent me by Professor Weisbach, which have other tone values; and others in the Museum's stucco itself.

31. Precise accuracy is difficult to obtain, as the stucco's moulded details are in general rounded at their edges, painting being relied on to give to the figures such sharpness of definition as they may have. Measurements were, therefore, taken between a number of different pairs of points.

32. Cf. *Lives*, Introduction, "Of Architecture."

33. Cf. A. G. Meyer, *Donatello*, London, 1904, p. 72.

34. Cf. p. 19.

The painter Masaccio, alongside whom Donatello worked in the twenties of the fifteenth century, left, as has long been recognized, a conspicuous impress on Donatello's production. How closely Donatello might, on occasion, follow Masaccio's lead is peculiarly well exemplified by our relief of the Virgin and Child enthroned between angels, two of whom express their fervor of reverence while the other two, seated below, play adoringly on stringed instruments. Masaccio's well-known picture (Fig. 4),³⁵ formerly at Pisa in the Church of the Carmine and now in the London National Gallery, which presumably was painted about 1427, is fundamentally the same in composition; its two angels at the sides of the throne are, as in Donatello's version, rapt in devotion, while the two below the throne play stringed instruments. There are, nevertheless, a number of differences. The sculptor's angels seem to me more expressive of deep devotion than the painter's; one of them holds a viol which, as the viol player on the Siena font (cf. p. 17 *infra*), he plays with a bow, instead of an instrument whose strings are plucked; the Child in the relief clasps to His breast what seems to be a bird, but in the painting takes grapes from His Mother's hand; and the relief's angels are on a larger scale than the painting's. Even before Berenson had, in 1908, identified the painting,³⁶ which had long been lost to sight, as the one mentioned by Vasari as being in the Church of the Carmine, attention had been directed³⁷ to the similarity between the angel-musicians of the Weisbach and London stuccos and those of Masaccio's painting of the Madonna as Vasari described it; and the obvious relationship between the painting and the two stuccos has been referred to by a number of writers on Donatello since the painting came to light. Masaccio's influence is presumably correspondingly displayed, as has also on occasion been pointed out, in the two little rosettes of the London stucco, tangent to the arch near its top, which parallel closely the similarly placed analogous little circles, each enclosing a group of radial lines, in Masaccio's well-known *Trinity* fresco in the Church of S. Maria Novella, in Florence.

So far as I am aware, no conjecture regarding the particular purpose for which the original of the two stuccos was designed has up to the present been advanced. I submit that a number of circumstances suggest that it was intended for, and perhaps for a time actually formed part of, the marble tabernacle now in the Sagrestia dei Beneficiati, in St. Peter's, in Rome. Fig. 7 reproduces a photo-

graph of the tabernacle,³⁸ upon which a photograph of our marble relief, on a slightly smaller scale, has been superimposed so that it partially covers the painting of the Madonna on the tabernacle's door. In the fifteenth century the sacristy, adjacent to the Basilica of St. Peter, was a chapel containing a miraculous image of the Virgin and Child called the "Madonna della Febbre," "in which persons suffering from that sickness, are graciously cured by prayer, through the merits of Mary, the Mother of God."³⁹ As architectural changes were made in connection with the chapel the miraculous picture was moved from one situation to another,⁴⁰ ending for the present on the door—clearly not an original part of the structure—of the little marble tabernacle, which serves most felicitously as a frame for it.⁴¹ Being in a part of St. Peter's formerly regarded as containing little of interest to sight-seeing visitors, the tabernacle remained unrecognized until 1886, when Schmarsow published it as a work mentioned by Vasari in his *Life of Donatello*.⁴² Concerning Donatello's activities in Rome Vasari tells us only that, when he went there to study antique sculpture, he made a stone tabernacle for the sacrament "che hoggi di si trova in San Pietro." Schmarsow, conjecturing that Vasari might have been mistaken in assigning this tabernacle to the period of Donatello's first visit to Rome, suggested that it should be credited rather to his second visit at the time he was called there in connection with the decoration of the city for the reception of the Emperor Sigismund, who came to Rome to be crowned in May of 1433; and in this suggestion he has been supported by a number of other scholars. The tabernacle is now very well known, having been described, generally with ac-

38. Reproduced from Bode, *Denkmäler der Renaissance-Sculptur toscanas*, pl. 76. A small part of our marble oval is, in the little superimposed print, hidden by the black wood frame in which the oval is mounted.

39. William Brewyn, *A XVth Century Guide Book to the Principal Churches of Rome*, 1470; translated from the Latin by C. Eveleigh Woodruff, London, 1933, p. 35. The chapel is said to have been originally dedicated in honor of St. Andrew, and from the early fifteenth century to have contained the miraculous picture, which in time became so renowned that people spoke of the chapel as that of the "Madonna della Febbre"; cf. F. M. Mignanti, *Istoria della . . . Basilica Vaticana*, I (*Basilica antica*), Rome and Turin, 1867, p. 113. For a view of Old St. Peter's about 1450 as restored from ancient authorities, see H. W. Brewer, "Old St. Peter's, Rome," *The Builder*, LXII, 1892, p. 3, with key plan, showing the "Church of Sta. Maria de Febribus" as a small rotunda with a domed roof, seemingly separate from the Basilica but so close as perhaps actually to touch some of its chapels.

40. On the various situations occupied by it, cf. V. Briccolani, *Descrizione della Sacrosanta Basilica Vaticana*, 3rd ed., Rome, 1816, p. 137, n.

41. Briccolani says (*ibid.*), partly in error, that the image "è dipinta sul muro con ornato antico di pietra istoriato, e munita di cristallo."

42. A. Schmarsow, *Donatello*, Breslau, 1886, pp. 31 ff.

35. Reproduced by courtesy of the National Gallery, London.

36. Bernhard Berenson, "La Madonna pisana di Masaccio," *Rassegna d'arte*, VIII, 1908, pp. 81 ff.

37. Cf. P. Schubring, *Donatello*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1907 (or 2nd ed., Stuttgart and Berlin, 1922), p. 198; Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

companionment of photographic illustration, and discussed by many writers on Donatello's art.⁴³

Schmarsow records the material of which the tabernacle is made as a white stone, harder and more porous than marble of good quality, and Semper calls it "travertine,"⁴⁴ but Gnoli has pointed out⁴⁵ that the stone is not a travertine marble, but is "marmo lunense"—that is, Carrara marble. Having had an opportunity to examine it closely, I infer that it is precisely the same as that (so far as I was able to recall it at the time) of our marble oval.

There are four reliefs either known to be by Donatello or with very considerable probability attributable to him which, because of a number of features they share in common, have been generally regarded as particularly associable with the period about 1427–1432. These are: (a) the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, at Naples, on the Brancacci tomb in the Church of S. Angelo a Nilo,⁴⁶ executed in Pisa in 1427; (b) Professor Weisbach's stucco (with which the Victoria and Albert Museum's version has, despite its alterations, been bracketed); (c) the tabernacle in St. Peter's; and (d) the *Ascension with Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter* (Fig. 5), in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 7629–1861).⁴⁷ Meyer long ago remarked,⁴⁸ referring to the angels of the Weisbach stucco (which, as I have pointed out above, reproduces precisely our marble Madonna relief), that "If their little profile heads did not bear the same features as the angels on the Naples relief, they could better be linked with the adoring angels of the tabernacle chiselled in Rome." To this we may add that the little projecting locks of hair of the two standing angels of marble are paralleled very closely in the two topmost angels (cf. Fig. 6) of the Naples *Assumption*, and about as closely on the head of the man (whose body is hidden) near the right-hand edge of the *Entombment* panel in the Rome tabernacle's attic. Again, the somewhat peculiar position

of the thumb, outstretched almost at a right angle to the fingers of the open hand, of the angel standing to the Virgin's left on our marble is paralleled in the hands of the two women of the tabernacle's *Entombment*; and in the Museum's *Ascension* it is analogously paralleled in the hands of the angel on the left, the tall man on the left, the kneeling woman (presumably the Virgin Mary), and St. Peter; and in the bronze Herodias relief on the font in S. Giovanni, at Siena,⁴⁹ a relief whose background includes a viol player (cf. Fig. 9, reproducing a portion of that relief) closely similar, as long since noted by Bode,⁵⁰ to our viol-playing angel.⁵¹ Significant, too, is the minor link, between the tabernacle and our Madonna relief, provided by the demi-rosettes, each held by an angel, at the ends of the predella-like frieze (whose whole handling forcefully recalled to me, at the time of my visit to the Sagrestia, that of our oval) below the tabernacle's door, which are halves of just such rosettes as the two near the top of our relief.

The most important link between our oval and the tabernacle, as well as with the Naples *Assumption* and the London *Ascension*, lies, however, in the extremely low *stiacciato* relief prominent in all four carvings—a *stiacciato* which, moreover, I think intimates the sort of situation for which our Madonna relief was originally designed. It may be observed that in the Museum's *Ascension* the figures in the foreground, although to some extent flattened, are in a relief very much higher than that of those in the distance (who are rendered in a *stiacciato* comparable with that of the whole of our Madonna relief). Thus is suggested, fairly convincingly to my mind at least, that our oval was only an element of a composition including other elements related to it, and that the scene on it represents only the most distant features of the complete subject. I am much inclined to think that other elements of that composition are to be seen in the tabernacle in St. Peter's. The three little angels in high relief, at either side of the lower part of the tabernacle's door, are, as Meyer puts it,⁵² "instinct with the same devotion which the Gabriel [cf. Fig. 8] of the Florence tabernacle⁵³ proclaims," and might well origi-

43. E.g. Bode, *Denkmäler*, p. 25 with pl. 76; Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff. with fig. 69; Balcarres, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff. with pl. facing p. 94; Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 f.; Schubring, *op. cit.*, 1907, pl. 44 and p. xxxi (1922, pl. 43 and pp. xxix f.); etc.

44. H. Semper, *Donatellos Leben und Werke*, Innsbruck, 1887, p. 62. Balcarres speaks (p. 94) of the stone as "rather coarse Travertine marble."

45. D. Gnoli, "Le opere di Donatello in Roma," *Archivio storico del arte*, I, 1888, p. 25, n.

46. Bode, *Denkmäler*, pl. 67; Schubring, *op. cit.*, 1907, pl. 40 (1922, pl. 39); Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 13; Schottmüller, *Donatello*, pl. 5; etc.

47. A noteworthy contribution to the extensive literature dealing with this exceptionally interesting carving is the excellent monograph, illustrated by many photographs of details, shortly to be issued by the Victoria and Albert Museum: John Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello's Relief of the Ascension with Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter*, London, 1948.

48. *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

49. Bode, *Denkmäler*, pl. 60; Meyer, *op. cit.*, fig. 43; Schubring, *op. cit.*, pl. 28; Balcarres, *op. cit.*, pl. facing p. 70; Schottmüller, *op. cit.*, pl. 4; etc.

50. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

51. Schottmüller similarly refers (p. 20) to the parallels between the Weisbach stucco and the Siena and Naples reliefs.

52. *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

53. This is the tabernacle in S. Croce, in Florence; cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, figs. 60–62 and pp. 72 ff.; Schottmüller, *op. cit.*, pl. 10 and *passim*; Schubring, *op. cit.*, 1907, pls. 47, 48 (1922, pls. 46, 47); Bode, *Denkmäler*, pl. 71; etc. Scholars have assigned it to a number of approximate dates ranging from about 1425 to about 1435. So close are the parallels between this Gabriel and the angel standing at the Virgin's right in our oval that it is impossible to

nally have looked toward our marble relief, so closely similar in subject to the painting for which the Rome tabernacle now serves as frame. Furthermore, through its angelic company our relief harmonizes perfectly with the group of angels flanking the door, and the extremely flattened *stiacciato* in which it is executed⁵⁴ is just what, on the analogy of the London *Ascension*, we should expect to find in the most distant parts of the subject. It may be observed, too, that the six flanking angels are on a scale considerably larger than that of the angels of our oval, as they should be, if my presumption is sound, since on the oval itself even the small distances separating the standing angels from the seated ones are marked by a diminution in size in the angels' heads. Finally, the partly unfinished condition of our relief accords with the hasty execution of certain features of the tabernacle's carving, commented upon by some of the scholars who have discussed the tabernacle and the validity of Schmarsow's suggestion that it was made at or about the time of Sigismund's visit to Rome rather than some years earlier when (as Vasari states) Donatello had gone there to study ancient sculpture.

In conformity with my presumption, the present door of the tabernacle covers the field where it was originally intended that our oval should be set, a field almost precisely twice the height of the oval and approximately one and a half times its width. Excepting our oval, I recall no surviving sculpture, nor even a group of marble fragments, which might help to prove to us what was designed to complete the filling of this field. At present the field is concealed by a large flat plate, hinged at the upper and lower corners on its right-hand edge and having a keyhole near the middle of its left edge, supporting the miraculous painting of the Virgin and Child.

It is to be presumed that, if our oval was indeed mounted in the situation I have suggested and have represented conjecturally in Fig. 7, it would have had round it either a relief or a painting of an accordant character. I am inclined to think that Professor Weisbach's object (Fig. 2) may yield us a clue to the marble oval's immediate surroundings. That object's stucco is set within an arched frame similar to, but not so tall as, the frame of the painting on the tabernacle's present door, whose two corners below the stucco enclose each an angelic crea-

ture; and this arched frame is surrounded by a rectangular frame within each of whose upper corners is an angelic creature. The width of this outer frame is 48 cm. (according to measurements sent me by Professor Weisbach), and the width at the bottom of the tabernacle's opening is 49 cm. (according to my own measurement). Furthermore, the frame—which is arched at the top, rectangular at the bottom, and placed within a larger rectangular frame—mounted on the tabernacle's present door encloses an image of the Virgin and Child; and below the tabernacle is a band of equally-spaced angular knobs which might well have inspired the analogous band of flattish knobs below the outermost frame of the Weisbach stucco. Such a series of correspondences suggests the possibility that the Weisbach object, although only 60 cm. high as compared with the opening's 83 cm., was directly inspired by, and perhaps reproduces, our marble oval in its original mounting; and, further, that the oval combined with a suitable mounting may have constituted, or at least have been comprised in, the tabernacle's original door. Again, I think it by no means inconceivable that the Weisbach object might have been made especially to replace the marble oval and its mounting, after the oval had suffered damage such as to unfit it for the purpose for which I presume it to have been prepared. Concerning whether the original door was about the height of the present door, or whether the extra 23 cm. were an immovable part of the tabernacle, I shall not venture to speculate. Had either our oval or Professor Weisbach's object been in use for the tabernacle's door when the present door was installed, perhaps towards the end of the seventeenth century,⁵⁵ its Madonna might well have suggested how admirably the tabernacle could serve as a frame for the painting.

The tabernacle, as we may see it today, has been damaged, presumably in the course of transfer from situation to situation. Balcarres says⁵⁶ that "there are two places where the work has been repaired, and the [circular] medallion in the lower frieze has been filled with modern mosaic; otherwise it is in good order." It is not difficult to believe that at the time (or times) when the injuries were inflicted such damage was done to whatever occupied the space now covered by the door⁵⁷—and be it observed that if the composition incorporated our marble oval it probably was structurally weak—that it was considered to be not worth repair and reinstallation. The

doubt that there must be some immediate relationship between the two figures. The parallels include the attitudes, combining reverence and adoration, of those figures, the positions of the arms and the hands, the folds of the draperies (so far as revealed in our angel), and the outlines of the wings.

54. As I have spoken above of the subtle gradations in the astonishingly low relief of our oval, it may be worth recalling that Balcarres says (*op. cit.*, p. 80) that Donatello's "most successful use of *stiacciato* is on the Rome tabernacle made a few years after the Brancacci relief."

55. Briccolani, speaking of the miraculous picture about the beginning of the nineteenth century, says (*op. cit.*, p. 137, n.), "Nel 1696, fu riportata nel suo antico Tempio, e . . . finalmente, dopo la demolizione del suddetto, ebbe la presente destinazione."

56. *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

57. Balcarres speaks (*loc. cit.*) of the painted Virgin and Child as "having, perhaps, replaced a metal grille or a marble relief." Cf. also Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, n. 320, containing data useful for the history of the tabernacle.

cracks in the oval suggest that such may really have been the case. Nevertheless, although it indeed appears in some degree probable that the oval was intended to form part of the door of the tabernacle as originally designed, whether mounted in a rectangular plate hinged like the present door or in a metal band (or in a small metal rectangle) having hinges on one side and a locking device on the other, so far as I know we have no indubitable evidence that it actually was used in such a way. Furthermore, I think there is reasonable possibility that, even though the oval might have been specially designed as a part of the tabernacle, the latter was never completed as originally projected. For a picture of the back of the oval, see Fig. 1b.⁵⁸

That this was in fact so is suggested, on the one hand, by the seemingly unfinished state of the tabernacle, referred to by a number of writers and to which I have alluded briefly above, and the analogously unfinished state of our Madonna relief (cf. p. 14 *supra*); and on the other hand by some mortar still adhering to the back of that relief. The Victoria and Albert Museum's *Ascension with Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter* (Fig. 5), the *stiacciato* of whose distances very closely resembles the *stiacciato* of our *Madonna with Angels* and whose figures all are shown, like those of that oval, without nimbi, has also been thought by some writers⁵⁹ to have been left un-

58. Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The back of the oval has been roughened to give a grip for mortar, some of which still adheres to it, and also has a shallow groove following its horizontal axis. The roughened surface and the mortar suggest that for a time it was built into something, the shallow groove that it was at some (not necessarily a different) time held in position by a metal bar.

59. E.g. Balcarres, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f.

finished in certain parts. Several features of that masterpiece incline me to associate it, as I have associated our marble oval, with the tabernacle in St. Peter's, and to venture to suggest, although—in view of the evidence presented by Pope-Hennessy (cf. note 47)—very tentatively, that at least as plausible a case might be made out for its having been prepared to form part of that tabernacle as originally projected, but for some reason either never used or else, after having served for a period, discarded and replaced by suitable parts of the present structure.

For all we *know*, the tabernacle was designed for, and first erected in, St. Peter's. So far as I am aware, the only matters to suggest the possibility that it was not are its present situation in a building originally adjacent to the Basilica and later incorporated in it, and the "hoggidi" in Vasari's statement "che hoggidi si trova in San Pietro," which Gnoli took⁶⁰ to imply that previously it had been elsewhere. That the "hoggidi" implied, however, no more than that the tabernacle was in Vasari's time *still* in St. Peter's seems to me at least equally likely. The demolition of Old St. Peter's was begun soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, and it seems, for all that we have been told, conceivable that the tabernacle may have been situated in a section early demolished, have been dismembered, and have had its component parts stored pending reerection. If something of the sort actually did happen, it could well account for the injuries to the tabernacle as it stands, and for the cracks in our Madonna relief; and perhaps also for the making of Professor Weisbach's stucco and its supporting structure.

LONDON, ENGLAND

60. *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

DOCUMENTS MOSTLY NEW RELATING TO FLORENTINE PAINTERS AND SCULPTORS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

RUFUS GRAVES MATHER

ABOUT ten years ago I decided to copy and publish the Tax Declarations (*Portate al Catasto*) of all the important artists of the Quattrocento which had not already been printed. Those of Botticelli have been published by the late Herbert Horne, those of Desiderio by Professor Kennedy, and those of Donatello and Michelozzo by me.¹ But I have been amazed to find that virtually no effort has been made (even by Italians) to publish the *Portate* included in this article.² Recently, during a stay in Italy of several months, I took up the quest interrupted by the war and copied all the important *Portate* of twenty artists, which now, so far as I know, appear in print for the first time.

In addition to the *Portate*, it has seemed to me useful to publish the matriculation of the painters in the Guild of Physicians and Chemists and their entrance into the *Compagnia di San Luca*; for the sculptors, their matriculation in the Guild of Masters of Stone and Wood and their entrance into the *Compagnia di San Paolo*, which was to them what the *Compagnia di San Luca* was to the painters. It will be noted that sometimes the latter joined the Guild and *Compagnia* of the sculptors, and vice versa, and that some joined both. Unfortunately, the *Libro delle Matricole* of the Guild of Physicians and Chemists covering the years 1445 to 1490 is missing. However, mem-

bership in the *Compagnia di San Luca* almost always meant previous membership in the Guild.

It has also appeared to me helpful to note the official death records of the artists when they were to be found.

To expedite printing and avoid the cost of making special type, I have, to my regret, modernized the documents. But I have tried to retain some of the flavor of the originals in the way of old spelling, the noticeable lack of capital letters for names, and the writing of words together. I have also shortened the *Portate* as much as possible. The artists owned or leased many small holdings of real estate. When these were not either for a residence or for a shop I have limited myself, except in a few cases, to only the essential information relating to them. Anyone wishing other details must go to the Registers himself.

The artists will be dealt with in alphabetical order by their baptismal names. As it is my hope that the *Portate* will be carefully read, my comment will be brief, pointing out special features or explaining where explanation seems indicated. The reader must be on his guard against the ages of the declarer and his family as they appear in the "Bocche." They are often fantastic. The first *Portate* mentioning an artist may be reasonably accurate. Later on, as will be seen, the ages given by the declarer and his family are frequently of very little value.

Finally, I have endeavored to cover the *Portate* so thoroughly that it will not be necessary for anyone else to devote any considerable time and energy to this particular field. For, with the exception of Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi, who, being priests, made no Declarations, I have left the *Portate* of very few artists uncopied.

AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO

DOCUMENT I

Davanzi a voj signori uficialj del chatasto yo antonio

1. The Michelozzo documents are very interesting. In my opinion (and I am not alone in this) Michelozzo was the best bronzecaster of his day, and I believe that Ghiberti entrusted largely to him the casting of the famous doors—a delicate job on which would depend the success or failure of his great work. I am also of the opinion that most of the fine architectural features in the doors were designed by Michelozzo and, furthermore, that his hand may be seen in some of the modeling.

2. Credit, however, is due to Gaye's *Carteggio inedito*, which prints, not too accurately, a part of one of the *Portate* of several artists, and to Carlo Spini's *Scritture di artisti italiani*, which reproduces photographs of part of the *Portate* of some of the artists.

di duccio detto Mugnone tessitore di drappi o scritta di propria mano questa inscritta e dirovi la verita dongni mia sustanza

la prima dicho chio [che io ho] due chase insieme nella Via de' fossi ghonfalone de lio rosso che da prima via e-da sechonda e terza nicholo pollini e da quarta lerede di michele iscelitore e nelluna abito e laltra o apigionata a francescho di miniato soponi a fj. 16 lano

Ora vi volgio inscrivere 3 pezzi di vingna chio a Ugnano nel popolo di Santo Stefano aluogho detto Pechalla e de staiora 8 . . .

dirovi degli altri due pezzi che sono ne medesimo popolo di staiora 16 aluogho detto doghaia . . .

One [ne ho] un pezzo di vingna a Ghanghalandi aluogho detto 1 avantignana di staiora 5 e u[n] mezzo e uno staioro di boscho insieme . . .

La veritae [verità è] chio a paghare fj. 10 di prestanze vecchie e avevo fj. 3 di prestanzone e queste nuove o a paghare tutte e one fj. 1 e sol. 7 dj. 7

qui vi scrivero la verita della donna e de figliuoli quanti e tenpo il primo a-nome duccio e a anni 29 o circha sechondo a nome giovannj e a annj 25 e terzo a nome frate ghostantino e a annj 14 questi tre figliuoli furono figliuoli duna prima donna chio [che io] ebi e questa chio a presente e 13 anni la tolsi e one [ne ho] auti 7 figliuoli che primo a nome richo e a annj 11 e secondo a nome aghostino e a anni 9 et terzo e quarto nachuono a u[n] corpo eluno a nome chosimo elaltro damiano e ano anni 6 e quinto a nome piera e a anni 4 il sesto a nome ghostanza e a anni 2½ el settimo a nome ataviano e a mesi 8 la donna a nome nenca e a annj 35 o circha edio antonio o anni 63

Written by another hand:

davere o avere

da bartolo di domenicho chorsi ghadagnati	fj. 15
da bartolo setaiulj ghadagnati	fj. 17
da felice di michele brancaccj e compagni	fj. 7
da piu persone	fj. 6

danarj o a dare adaltri

a piero di ghorio benici leva drappo	fj. 3
a lorenzo di messer gherardo buondelmontj	fj. 1½
a Iuglo di francescho chalzaiuolo	fj. 2
a piu persone in piu partite	fj. 4

incarichj

Sto appigione in una chasa di giovannj di messere piero ghaetani posta in—nel polo [popolo] sca maria sopra porta che da prima e sechonda via da terza uno chiasso forato da quarta naldino di bonachorso borghi paghione [ne paghio] di pighione fiorinj cinque

[Archivio di Stato, Quartiere di Santa Maria Novella,

Gonfalone Leone Rosso, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1427, Sto. Cod. 42 a c. 171 e 171t]

The Campione Cod. 76 a c. 233t e 234 being virtually a duplicate, I quote only the tax "adichatasto per chonposizione sol. 12 aoro."

DOCUMENT 2

Quartiere di Santa Maria Novella ghon [falone]
Lion Rosso

questa ella [è la] scripta dantonio di duccio tessitore di drappi ista nella via de fossi nel popolo di Sanpagholo e o danj lxiii e o nella detta via due chase che achonfini nicholo pollinj da due parti strozzo la via cheneluna [che nell'una] ista piero di bartolo giugni e damj di pigione lano fiorini sedici e nelaltra che apicata a quella e per mio abitare e o cinque istaiora di vingna nel popolo di Santo Istefano a ugnano luogho detto all schalle . . .

e o un atro pezo di vingna nel medesimo popolo di staiora 5 . . .

e o sette figluli che maggiore e anj 30 e chome si puose laltro chatasto no volle piu tornare mecho e a nome giovani e unaltro no [ne ho] cho[n] frati de servi e a ani 17 a unaltro no che a nome aghostino e a ani 12 inoltre unaltro cha nome ataviano deta anni 4 unaltra femina cha nome ghostanza e a anni 5 unaltra femina a nome ginevra e a mesi due

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1436, Sto. Cod. 365 a c. 41]

The Campione Cod. 405 a c. 702 is very short. I cite only the tax "Chonposto in sol quattro — fj. — sol. 4."

DOCUMENT 3

+ 1433

Vi fo noto uficialj del chatasto popolo e chomune di firenze de mobili e i[m]mobili delle rede dantonio dj duccio mugnonj ghonfalone de lione rosso quartiere di Santa Maria novella

prima la nostra chasetta dove noi abitiamo nella via de fossi . . .

una chasa detta una apigionata a piero di bartolo giugni dame lanno fj. 16 alla attenere a dj primo di novembre e poi lapigionata a giovannj di bencinj ysta i[n] borgho ognj santi e dame lanno fj. 15 . . .

benj

O staiora 19 di vignia nel popolo di Santo stefano augniano che nel chatasto vecchio navere yl detto nel detto e popolo staiora 27 vendello per bisogni per paghare graveza jstaiora otto a michele della volta francescho et lui laconpero e chonfini no[n]no [non ho] potuto dare per rispetto noglj so la schritta vecchia vi fara chiaro

abiamo debito celcho[mune] tanto cho[n] pocho chenone
facciamo

abiamo avere

dantonio dj giovannj dj fino francescho per masseritie
glj vendono dachordo cholui abiamo auto fj. 25

da piero di bartolo giugni nostro pigonale fj. 26

abbiamo addare

abbraccio lanaiulo peresto di panno monachino si levo
quando nostro padre moj antoni mugnone detto fj. 12

abiamo addare allucha di mato speciale e becchamorto
per ciera e altre cose dacordo fj. 12

abiamo addare che sono a nome di giovanni figliuolo dj
detto al boghatta che sta al pozo toscanellj per pigione
duna chasa tenne quando no[n] tornava chol detto an-
tonio fj. 4

a domenicho dj tommaso borghini dj resto quando stettj
co[n] tommaso fj. 6

abbiamo addare al chomune dj Firenze per chatasti
acchata dispiacente danarj per molte graveze fj. 60

a bastiano di guaschonj per pigione duna sua chasa
fj. 3

tiella mogli del detto dell detto [sic] antonio

bocche

figluoli che furo[no] dantonio mugnoni lascio giovannj
masiona dj tenpo e la quale tornava da pisa per la chativa
vita dj chasa poiche morj vi sono stato piu volte e piu
tenpo per mettere i[n] affetto lj suoj figluolj et forse
vi tornero a restanza per fare utile a miei fratelli e per
mio onore

bocche

la moglie cheffu [che fu] del detto antonio eta anni	36
Chiovanni chome detto	annj 31
frate Ghostantino	annj 23
Agostino	anni 17
Chosimo	annj 14
Attaviano	annj 5
La ghostanza	annj 7
la ginevra	anni 3

Noto avoi uficiali chel detto Giovanni sta al arte della
seta co[n] francesco del benino allore disposizione che
quando ara [avra] dj salario fj. 25 lanno ara fatto tutto
e aghostino mio fratello e co[n] giovanni da tollentino
uomo darne al saldo partissj no poteva vivere qui questo
vene faro chiaro

chosimo fa al farsettaio fj. 5 lanno

Frate ghostantino si fecie frate percho no poteva vire
[vivere] alla spesa del padre e ci rimase tante masseritie
che'dio lo sa

Nella fermita di nostro padre no se rimasto nulla i[n]
chasa che stette i[n] fermo parecchj mesj rachomandiamo

per lamore di dio grazia chio [che io] posso chondurre
questa famiglia

hanno di chatasto fj. — lib. — fj. — lib. — sol. iij

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph of Gio-
vanni) al Catasto 1433, Campione Sto. 463 a c. 496]

This is far more interesting than the Portata (autograph)
Cod. 461 a c. 481 e 481t.

DOCUMENT 4

+ Xpo [Christo]

Dinanzi a voj signori uficiali della monte gravezza
sustanzie e beni dj Mona lorenza donna fu dantonio di-
duccio Mugnioni ghonfalone de leone Rosso a dj cinquina
sol. 19 dj. 9 aoro

j/a cassa in su fosso da primo via a ij glj dettj e altri
confini per uso suo fj.

1/a chasa i[n] su fosidetto da po via secho[ndo] allj
dettj a iij Rede dantonio Tafini a Siena di pigione lan[n]o
fj. 15

Le sopradette casse presse per suo dimora

Incharichi

Mo lorenza dani 45

Truovasi debito cho[n] chomune di fj. 40 o circha fj.
40

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1442,
Sto. Cod. 620 a c. 684]

There is only this writing for 1442.

DOCUMENT 5

+ all nome di dio

Quartiere Scā Ma Novella Ge lione rosso

Ma lorenza dona fu antonio dj duccio mugnoni che dell primo chatasto mio marito antto [antonio] di duccio mugnone sol. dodici	fj. — sol. 12
ebe di decima sol. 6 dj. 8	sol. 6 dj. 8
ebbe di dispiacente sol. 6 dj. 8	sol. 6 dj. 8

Sustanze

una chasa posta in su fosi detto ghonfalone poplo di
San pagolo

una chasa i[n] detto popolo chonfini da primo via 2
girolamo di anto[nio] della ischala 3 ciocio e si da di
pigione delluna fj. quattordici et altra ha la a pigione
andrea dj lore[nzo] tese i drappi

altra chasa sena [se ne ha] di pigione li venzei [ven-
tisei]

tiella a pigione Antonio chiamato ghisello tese i drappi

Tengho a pigione [un]a chasa e duna dona vecchia da
santo polinari pago lan[n]o lib. quattordici

E dice la detta graveza i[n] mona lore[n]za perche
rimasa vedova

Mona lorenza dona fu dj duccio mugnone
deta dan[n]j 50 dani 50

Agostino dantonio dj duccio detta 29

Chosimo detta danj 26

Attaviano detta danj 18

Et ebono i dua maggiore bando per larento de servi
istano a Venegia ebono bando i[n]noce[n]temente
sienvj rachomandattj per llamore dj dio

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al
Catasto 1446, Sto. Cod. a c. 903]

The Campione Cod. 672.

DOCUMENT 6

+ al nome di dio ame[n] adj 12 agosto 1451

Io sono quella povera madre di queglj poveri figliuoli
che ricevettono overo ebbono bando i[n]noce[n]te-
me[n]te degli arie[n]tj de servi e fu don[n]a da[n]-
tonio di duccio mugnone tessitore de drappi la quale
no[n] o nulla che sia i[n] questa no[n] o ne masseritie
ne letto excepto chio dua case nel gonfalone del liono
rosso nel popo[lo] di santo pagholo le quali sono nella
via de fossj e sono luna alla [*sic*] allaltra Et nelluna sta
Simone dellonpronto e paghane a me dodici fiorinj lanno
E nellaltra sta uno milanese chiamato filippo tessitore di
panno lino Et damene ve[n]tiquattro lire lan[n]o Et io
torno in gualfonda popolo di santa Maria novella i[n]
chasa duna povera pinzochera di Santo domenicho o si
mi da la tornata dela casa elletto [e il letto] el e maseritie
et io le do sej fiorini lanno

Go [Gonfalone] L[eo] Rosso dito e miserabile al
Chatasto diceva in antonio dj duccio mugnoj fj. 18 sol. —

Written by a notary:

Somma la rendita di sopra fj. 18 sol. —

Abbatj per 5 percento sol. 18 sol. 18 dj. —

Ra [Rendita] fj. 17 sol. 2 dj. —

Tochagli a sol. 4 per libra fj. 3 sol. otto dj. v aoro
fj. 3 sol. 8 dj. 5

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al
Catasto 1451, Sto. Cod. 767 a c. 57]

*It will be observed that this codex was also used as a
Campione to calculate the tax. The same is true of Cod.
708 (also autograph) which is a duplicate in every way
of Cod. 707.*

DOCUMENT 7

Q S Ma Na G Lione rosso

Mone lorenza dona fu danto di duccio chiamato
mungnone tessitore di drappj diceva nel primo catasto
i[n] anto detto Go detto ebbe di catasto

disse la graveza del valsente i[n] mona lore[n]za
detta detto gonfalone ebbj di val[sente] fj. 3.8.5

disse nella ci[n]q[u]ina ma lorenza detta ebbi di
cinquina sol. 6 dj. 8

Sustanze

Unacasetta posta nel pplo [popolo] di S pagolo di
firenze nella via de fossi ellaquale a primo via a ij agnolo
sarto a iij cocio di michele steglitore ve[n]della gia sono
anni quattro a angolo sarto per pregio di fj. trecetoci-
quanta carta per mano di ser romolo di ser guido dej
quali danarj meresta a dare detto angnolo fj. ceto como
dico di sotto

sej pezzi di vingnia posti nel pplo di s stefano a o
ognano e a ga[n]gala[n]di di staiora trenta o circha
co[n]finati chome nel p[rimo] catasto tutti sono
ve[n]duti gia fa piu te[mpo] aglj infrascritti cio e a Ma
mea di masino daogniano A paganello di franco filattaio
i[n]sino nel 1439 A bartolommeo di matteo da ongnano
e a nan[n]i di bartolo da ogna[n]o tutti gli ve[n]de
ant^o di duccio mio marito e tutti e sopradetti ten[g]ono
e possemano e detti beni e perche no[n] so chi se ne fussi
logato qui no[n] ne do aviso alle reverende vostre

Creditori

Giovan[n]j danto dj duccio mio figliastro deavere da
me e i[n]fradetti beni per dota di ma richa sua madre
fj. nova[n]ta fj. 90

Debitori

Lo spedale di S maria nuova de dare fj. dugento e quali
ne ne [*sic*] indiposito i[n]sino a tanto se ne comperej
benj i[m]mobili per scritta [?] delle sopradette case e di
dettj danarj no[n] o alcuna re[n]dita fj. 43

Rede di bartolomeo di Giovan[n]-j maestro G^o [gon-
falone] ferza man[n]o [mi hanno] a dare fj. ce[n]to
per dota della na[n]na mia do[n]a e figlioli di detto
detto bartolomeo no[n] o nulla di re[n]dita fj. 100

Incharichi

Sto a pigione i[n]unachasa di madonna caterina
pi[n]zochera di santo domenicho posta nelpopolo di Sa
ma na a primo via a sechondo ser giovani danto [d'an-
tonio] a iij sa ma novella done di pigione la[n]no fj.
sej — fj. 6

fj. 6 lib. 8 sol. 14 dj. 9

Bocche

Ma lorenza sopradetta deta da[n]nj 62 fj. 200

Attaviano mio figlolo deta da[n]ni treta — 30 fj. 206

Ma na[n]na dona di detto attaviano danj 20 fj. 200

Written by a notary:

Som[m]a la prima faccia delle

sustanze fj. 78 sol. 11 dj. 1

Som[m]a la sechonda faccia fj. 406

Som[m]a il Valsente fj. 478 sol. 11 dj. 1

abattasj fj. v percento de beni
i[m]obilj dj. fj. 78 sol. 11 dj. 1
fj. 3 sol. 18 den. 6
abattj per rincharicho di j^o [uno]
creditore fj. 90
abattj per pigione duna chasa che
tiene fj. 35 sol. 14 dj. 9
abattj per 3 bocche fj. 600
so[m]ma glincarichj fj. 779 sol. 13 dj. 3
mancagli come si vede fj. 301 sol. 2 dj. 2
Conposto per partito degluficialj adj. x [decima] di
gie[n]naio 1458 per ogni sua sustanza abbattuto glin-
charichj i[n] sol. quatro ao[ro] di chatasto rogato Ser
domenicho loro notaro fj. — sol. 111 dj. aoro

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph of Gio-
vanni) (also used as Campione) al Catasto 1457, Sto.
Cod. 816 a c. 256, 256t e 257]

*A similar Portata-Campione, also written by Giovanni, is
Cod. 817 a c. 256 e seg.*

DOCUMENT 8

Q Santa Maria Novella

Attaviano dant^o dj duccio mugnone e fratelli
nel primo valsente no si truova nella [14] 51 valsente
disse i[n] mona lorenza dona fu dant^o [dantonio] dj duc-
cio ebi fj. 3 sol. 8 dj. 5 chatasto [14] 58 ebi sol. 4
ventj[na] 1468 sol. 7

Sustanze

una chasetta posta nel popolo di san pagholo nela via de
fosi . . . viij pezi di tera lavoratia e vignata posta nel
chomune di chanpi popolo di santa marjachampi [maria a
chanpi] choloro vochabolj e chonfinj chomperaj daiacopo
dandrea di bonaventura per pregio di fj. 230 . . .

17 pezi di tera dj staiora 30 o circha posto nel popolo
dela pieve dj chanpi . . .

uno podere posto nel popolo dj san martino a maiano
chon chasa dalavoratore e da signiore . . .

El sopradetto podere chompero dalerede di franco dj
nuto charta per mano di Ser domenicho dj Ser santi

una chasa posta nel popolo di san felice in piazza . . .
e piu 6 a dare lano chome aparisce detta chasa lano fj.
2 davilaro a detta Sa felice

Beni Alienati

due pezi di tera di staiora 30 o circha postj neluogo del
pieve dj chanpj chonfinj vendita a franco dj filippo dj
vanj Locelaj Gonfalone lione bianco per pregio di fj. 60

Boche

Attaviano dattonio dj ducj detta	44	fj. 200
Aghostino suo fratello detta danj	48	fj. 200
Chosimo suo fratello detta	47	fj. 200

Ma giovan[n]a dona dattaviano detta	29	fj. 200
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Ma diamante dona dattaviano [<i>sic</i> , <i>should be</i> aghostino] detta	40	fj. 200
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Ma francescha dona di chosimo detta	34	fj. 200
-------------------------------------	----	---------

Ginevra di chosimo detta danj	12	fj. 200
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Giovannj antonjo detta	9	fj. 200
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Som[m]a la prima faccia di questa portata	fj. 648.4.8
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abata[s]sj per fj. 5 per cento dj	fj. 32.8
fj. 648.4.8. fj. 32.8 —	fj. 1600

abato [abatuto] per 8 boche fj. 1600	fj. 994.6.4
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Mancaglij fj. 994.6.4 chome si vede	fj. 994.6.4
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chomposto per partito degluficialj I[n] sol. diecj	
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Richordo Ser nicholo ferrino nostro canceliere sol. 10	
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[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1469,
Sto. Cod. 919 a c. 2 e 2t]

DOCUMENT 9

Attaviano dant^o vocato ma[n]gona ebbe di chatas[t]o
del [14] 70 in dco nome sol. 10

E 1/6 [sesto] lib. 3 sol. 14 dj. 8

Sustanze

Una chaxa posta nel plo [popolo] di Sa felice i[n]
piazza . . .

Uno podriazo po [posto] ne plo di Samartino a Maiano
. . .

Un pezo duno podere po i[n] mugello di vichio chia-
mato molazania sco bartolomei con sui vochaboli e confini
. . . el quale possede lerede dj franco di bindo et ant^o
[antonio] e quale rede a[n]no dato a mio fratello Ago-
stino una sua chosa ed e richa a x annj e qualj la dicie vano
meta cento fj. ora jstano a roma e senono [se non ho]
maj charta per dognj a[n]no ad altro lentatura per la
graveza del comune di dco Agostino no[n] ha se no[n]
un pacho di scripta da daverre dco agostino no[n] ha niuna
ragione e trovasj deto agostino chome vedete danj 64
co[n] figuoli e la do[n]na velo rachomando a[n]no di
fito

Beni Venduti

. . .

Boche

Attaviano dani 55
agostino dinani [*sic*] danj 60 scharpelatore a perugia
Ma na[n]na do[n]na datavio anj 40
franca [francescha] moglie dagostino ani 32
lorenzo fig^o [figluolo] dagostino ani 5
margreta figa dagostino ani 7
ant^o [antonio] ani mesi tre

Ginevra mia nipote ani 18
 franca mia nipote danj 16
 Marietta mia nipote danj 12
 tute senza dote

...
 La tassa fj. 1.17.4 aoro

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480, Campione Sto. 1101 a c. 23]

In a contemporary text of Monte Comune, Agostino is stated in the Bocche to be "a bologna." I leave it to the critics to decide which scribe was correct.

DOCUMENT 10

+ Yhs

Qre di Sta Maria Novella Gonfal Lione Rosso
 Heredi dattaviano dant° V° [vocato] Mugnone disse la scala 1481 in detto Attaviano dant° di duccio jn detto Qre Gonfal predetto

Sustanze

Una casa nel pplo [popolo] di Sto felice jn piazza . . .
 uno podere co[n] sue apertenente posto nel pplo di sco Martino a maiano posto I[n] sulafrico co[n] casa da Signore elevatore . . .

uno podrazo co[n] casa posto ne pplo di sta Maria G . . .

piviere di sto piero di scopiere [*sic*] I[n] silano . . .

Benj Alienatj

Uno pezo duno podrazo posto I[n] mugello logho di vichio labate chiamato mel azano pplo di sco bartolomeo co[n] sue confini elqualj di francescha dona fu dagostino dant° so[no] per sua dote a darelà per dota a piero digiuntino suo marito

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto Decima 1498, Campione Sto. 23 a c. 372]

DOCUMENT 11

In Xpi noe [nomine Amen] Anno eiusdem salutiferi Incarnationis Milloquadragesio sexagesimo Tertio

Indic[tione] XIJ	existensibus prudentibus vi-
johane guarentis	ris consulibus Artis Magis-
Bartheo Betti barthei	terio pro quartuor mensibus
Antonio Barthei Augus-	Initiatis die primo mensis
tini	janvarij 1463 ut seg[uitur]
Johane Blasij Magistero	

Magr [Magister] Augustinus Antonij ducij Intagliator ppli [popoli] Sci paulj de flor[entia] Intravit ad matricolam civitatis die xxvj Janvarj 1463

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname, Libro delle Matricole, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. 2 a c. 122]

DOCUMENT 12

Mo [Maestro] Augostino dant° di Duccio intagliatore de dare lib. dicasette sol. sette posto deve avere al campione U° [uno] [395] peresto di sua matricola e co[n] solarj per tutto lanno 1465 lib. xvij sol. vij lib. i sol. iij

...

e per lanno 1475 1476 . . .

Mo Aghostino etc. avere . . .

...

E adi 30 decembre 1472 lib. quatro per lui da attaviano suo fratello

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1470, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. 4 a c. 122t e 123]

NOTE

The standard biography of this sculptor seems to be *Agostino di Antonio di Ducci*, written in German by Andy Pointner and published in Strassburg in 1909 by J. H. Heitz.

Pointner referred only briefly to the Portate of Agostino. From the father's Declaration of 1427 he gave only the sculptor's birth as in 1418. From Mona Lucrezia's Portata of 1446 he quoted only: "Ed ebono bando i due maggiori bando per larento de servi istano a Vinegia ebono bando inocientemente sienvi rachomandati per l'amore didio." As far as the Portate of Attaviano's heirs in 1498 are concerned, Pointner merely stated that Agostino's widow, Mona Francesca, received a dowry when she remarried. The Portate, therefore, are to all intents and purposes all new.

In Document 1 we note that Antonio was a man of great honesty. He says he will tell the truth about everything he possesses and even about his family.

Document 2 needs no comment. Between 1430 and 1433 Antonio died. Agostino's mother is dead and he has a stepmother.

In Document 3 Giovanni shows a fine spirit in coming back to the family to support his stepmother and brothers and sisters. But at the same time he frees his mind about having to go back "to the bad life at home." He reports that little can be expected from his father's estate and makes every touching appeal to the tax officials for consideration so that he can support the little family.

The most interesting part of Giovanni's Portata is his statement that Agostino had left Florence with the soldier, Giovanni da Tolentino, with pay, because he could not remain in Florence. The word "qui" means that, and not that he could not remain with the family. Giovanni also says (in three different writings) that he would explain why, but so far as is known he never did. It should be remembered that 1433 was a difficult year politically for Florence. Cosimo de' Medici was exiled. Could Ago-

stino—then fifteen, not seventeen, as his brother reports—or the soldier, have been mixed up in politics and exiled?

In any case, Agostino did not appear in Florence until after 1442, as Mona Lucrezia makes no mention of him in her Portata for that year. Meanwhile he is named in 1441 as sculptor of several reliefs on the Duomo in Modena. I gladly leave it to the critics to decide where and by whom he was taught his craft during an absence of at least eleven years from his native city. As will be seen, he is back in Florence between 1442 and 1446, only to be exiled with his brother Cosimo for an alleged theft of silver from the Frati dei Servi.

The remaining Portate need no comment except to note that Attaviano mixed his wives badly. I tried to straighten out the matter, only to find that in 1480 Attavio had done so.

I have already commented on the variation between the statements as to where Agostino was in 1480.

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI

DOCUMENT I

al nome di dio adi 2 dj febraio 1430

A voj signorj uficialj del chatasto del chomune di fi-renze deputati fo noto dj sustanze e mobili e immobili e incharichj di baldovinetto dalexo baldovinetj Quartier Sta Ma N[ovella] G[onfalone] vipera popolo santo stefano a po[r]ta

un podere jn mugello a chabiano luogho detto bichoccha chon chasa dalavoratore popolo di sallorenzo piviere di sangiova[n]nj chon 6 pezzj di terra alpresente un pezzo lanno paghato si vende a giova[n]nj dorsino da rignano fj. 50

de quali sei pezzi parte lavorata vigniata parte pastura . . . e senza buoj lavorata do[n]nino dantonio nona [non ha] prestanze

debbe avere da bernardo suo fratello fj. 32 il qual a in deposito di suo fj. 32

Immobili

Bartolo[m]meo di Ser bonamicho de avere di piu a[n]ni fa fj. 50 o circha fj. 50

El chomune di Firenze de avere per chatasti non pachati fj. 13

Bocche

Baldovinetto detto deta	da[n]nj 30
Agnola sua do[n]na	da[n]ni 28
Alexo suo figliuolo	da[n]ni 5
Govacchino suo figliuolo	danj 3

Jo Bernardo dalexo baldovineti la presente scritta o fata di mia propia mano chon preghiera e volonta di detto baldovinetto

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di Santa Maria Novella, Gonfalone Vipera, Portata (autograph of Bernardo) al Catasto. 1430, Cod. 31 a c. 93]

DOCUMENT 2

al nome di dio adj xxvii di maggio 1433

Beni di baldovinetto dalexo baldovinetj de quartiere di santa maria novella e ghonfalone della vipera

un podere posto nel popolo di san lorenzo a ghabiana luogho detto alla bichocha chon suoj vochabolj e chonfinj prima

una chasa dalavoratore chon chappane aja e orto e stabia chome sapartiene a lavoratore

un pezo di terra vingnata jn detto luogo da primo e 2 e 3 e 4 detto baldovinetto per misura staiora 4 a seme

un pezo di tera lavorativa e pratia e querceto, posta in detto luogho alato a detta vingna da primo Jspina da cignano e 2 via e 3 fossato e 4 detto baldovinetto ede per misura staiora 9 a seme

un pezo di terra posta jn detto luogho alato a detta vigna da primo e 2 spina detto e 3 detto spina e 4 via per misura staiora 7 a seme

un pezo di terra pratia posta jn detto luogho da primo 2 3 4 detto baldovinetto ede per misura staiora 1½ a seme

un pezo di tera lavorativa posta jn detto luogho da primo rosso chavalchantj e 2 via e 3 4 detto baldovinetto ed e per misura staiora 7 a seme

un pezo di tera lavorativa posta jn detto luogho da primo marj de medicj e lerede di tomaso guidottj e 3 marj detto e 4 detto baldovinetto ed e per misura staiora 10 a seme

un pezo di tera posta jn detto luogo pratia da primo 2 3 4 lalangoidolo ed e per misura staiora ½ a seme

un pezo di tera posta jn detto luogho da primo 2 3 4 marj de medicj ed e per misura staiora 5 a seme

fruttj entrate di detto luogho prima	Incharichi a detti beni prima
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grano stata 84	baldovinetto detto in bando del chapo cho[n]
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biada st. 20	debito chol chomune fj. 50
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vino barili 20	o piu
----------------	-------

charne di porco lib. 300	lagnola sua donna
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uova la[n]no uova 120	alesso figliuolo di detto baldovinetto detta danj 4
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per ognisanti un ocha 1	
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per natale paia di chapponi 2	
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[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (written by a notary) al Catasto 1433, Cod. 854 a c. 89]

DOCUMENT 3

Q S maria novella G vipera

Alesso dj baldovinetto dalesso baldovinettj del popolo di santo apostolo di firenze

Incharichi

Tennglio una caxa a pigione da chosimo dj lennzi istovagliaio fuori della portta a faennza nel popolo di san lorenzo e pagho de detta cax[a] dj pigione fj. 5 lanno

Alesso sopradetto deta dannj 40

Soma la prima faccia fj. [consumed] sol. iiij

chonposto per deliberatione degluficiali in sol. iiij

Roghato ser Nicholo ferini nostro canceliere

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1470, Campione Sto. 916 a c. 9]

DOCUMENT 4

Q d Sa Ma Novella ge [gonfalone] della vipera

Alesso di baldovinetto dalesso baldovinetti dipintore del pplo [popolo] di San appostolo di firenze ebbe di catasto 1470 sol. 4

Ebbe di sesto lib. 1 aoro

Sustantie

un pezo di terra lavoratia di staiora 12 a corda o circha posta nel pplo di sca Maria a quinto comune di Sesto luogho detto Via Mozza fj. 40 sol. 7 di. 2

unpezo di terra lavoratia di staiora 70 o circha posto in detto pplo di Sca Maria a quinto in detto Comune fj. 27

Bocche

Alesso baldovinetti detta danni 60 dipintore

Ma daria sua dona danni 45

bice sua fanciulla danni 13

Incharichi

Una chasa posta nel pplo di Sco lorenzo di firenze nella via dello ariento al chanto co suoj confini e paggo lanno fj. Viii tochagli fj. — lib. 12.10.0

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480, Campione Sto. 1008 a c. 41 e 41t]

DOCUMENT 5

Q dj sca malria n[ovell]a Gon[falone] Vipera

Alesso di baldovinetto dalesso baldovinetti disse la gra-veza sua in dco alesso jnchamerata dellanno 1480 i[n] detto alesso schala habito nel pplo di sanlorenzo dj firenze

Sostanze

un pezo di terra lavoratia posta nel pplo di sca maria a quinto dj staiora 12 [see last Portata]

un pezo di terra lavoratia dj staiora 7 posta nel pplo di Sca Ma a quinto [ditto]

un pezzo di terra vigniata dj staiora xj e panora tre . . . posta nel pplo di Sco martino a sesto luogho detto acqua ritrosa [ditto]

Incharichi

Una chasa chon sua vochaboli e chonfini posta al chanto aighori pplo di sco lorenzo di firenze laqual chasa sie di chosimo di piero lenzi bottegaio alle porte afaenza . . . e della detta chasa ne pago lanno di pigione lire 46 dj. — a dco chosimo . . .

adi el di febraio 1483 mi chonsignarono e chonsolij dell arte de mercatantj la pigione di dua botteghe Roghato Ser giova[n]ni migliorellj loro notaio posto i[n] sulla piazza di Sangiova[n]ni la prima bottega sie [si è] cholla chasa di sopra nellaquale chasa abita Ma piera donna che fu di rinierj chavalchanti e paga lanno dj pigione lib. 45 lanno di picciolj e nella bottega di sotto dca chasa abita filippo dj rinierj banditore e paliamolo prestatore di chavagl j e paga lanno dj pigione lib. 65 dj picciolj co[n]fini da primo via ij gherardo dj gherardo chasinj iij larte di mercatantj iij pagolo di pinadoro speciale

una bottegha la quale e nel numero delle due botteghe sopradette la quale abita filippo di salvestro sellaio e paga lanno di pigione lib. 44 di picciolj . . . le quali botteghe e pigione ma[n]no cho[n]signato per mio mestiere a paganotto del musarcho dj sangiovanni ebi jo aracchoncio et rifatto e rischiarato e anchora o affare il fregio di fuora e anchora quando acchadessi dj rachonciare dco musarcho sono obligato a ogni loro richiesta

Queste botteghe e il pagamento del magistiero e essercitio et trafficho la pigione di queste botteghe sie il mio guadagno dellanno trafficho che de stuccho e vetrj e smaltj e ferrj chonchio [con che io] lavoro . . .

Tochagl j di decima fj. dua sol. undicj dj. iij larghj che fanno in tuto di decima cholle partite disopra in tuto fj. tre sol. tredici dj. 8 larghi fj. 3.13.8

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto Decima 1498, Sto. Decima Cod. 18 a c. 59, 59t e 60]

DOCUMENT 6

Alesso di Baldovinetti dipintore MCCCCXLVIIIJ

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27 No. 1]

DOCUMENT 7

MCCCCCLXXIJ

Alesso dj Baldovinetto dipintore de dare per la grazia fatta adi 17 di giugno 1472 sol. sej sol. 6

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Cod. 2 a c. 11t]

DOCUMENT 8

MCCCCLXXIJ

Alesso di baldovinetto baldovinetti dipintore de dare per la grazia fatta adj 7 di giugno 1472 sol. sei sono per ogni debito perinsino adi primo dj luglio 1472 la quale da pagare per tutto il presente mese di giugno lib.—sol. 6

Eddare per llofferta del dj di Santo lucha lib. sol. 5

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472–1520, Sto. Cod. 2 a c. 11]

DOCUMENT 9

MCCCCLXXIJ

Alesso di baldovinetto baldovinetti dipintore de avvere sol. sej porto chontanti a piero zuchari a sua entrata a c. 17 lib.—sol. 6

Ede avere piu tenpo fa sol cinque a libro c. 4 e entrata di bonaiuto Ko [Kamerario] c.—lib.—sol. 5

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472–1520, Sto. Cod. 2 a c. 12]

NOTE

As has been seen in Alesso's father's Portata of 1433, written for him by a notary, Alesso, at the age of seven, did not start life very propitiously. His father was exiled for non-payment of fifty florins to the City. Experts at the *Archivio di Stato* tell me that this meant that the entire family, including Alesso, were exiled with the head of the house. This being so, when did Alesso first return to his native city? Certainly not until after 1446, for 1442 and 1446 were years when *Portate al Catasto* had to be made and no such Portate are to be found either by a relative or by him. Had he been in Florence during 1442 and 1446, a Portata would have been obligatory.

In Alesso's "Ricordi" published by Mrs. Ruth Kennedy (*Aleso Baldovinetti*, New Haven, 1939) we note no activity on his part in the years 1451 and 1457, and as no Portate are to be found, his absence from Florence during those years is indicated.

Alesso must have first returned to Florence perhaps shortly after 1446 for he joined the *Compagnia di San Luca* in 1448 or 1449 (the writing is not clear) and the Guild of Physicians and Chemists, as his "Ricordi" begin in 1449.

Alesso's first Portata was made in 1470. Proof of my statement that he was absent from his native city in 1442, 1446, 1451, and 1457 is provided by the fact that he makes no reference to any previous Portata made for him or by him during the years mentioned. This it was his duty to do, and the notary of the Catasto would have insisted on it. It will be noted that he also did not refer, although he should have, to his father's Portata of 1433, in which he is mentioned. The reason for his failure to do

so may only be surmised. He may perhaps have forgotten, since he had then been only seven years old. Or he may have acted deliberately so as not to remind the tax officials of his father's and his own exile.

It will be observed that Alesso does not refer to himself as "dipintore" in the 1470 Portata. In the Portata of 1480 he does.

ANDREA DA CASTAGNO

DOCUMENT 1

Q[uartiere] di S Go [Giovanni]

Pe [piviere] dj samartino da castagnio

Pod[esteria] di dichomano

In the margin: achatastato nel popolo [?] di corella

bartolo di simone di benguella a dj chasto [chatasto]

sol. 5 dj. iii deta dani a bando dj lib. 500 afra

con bigletini 45

Mon[a] legra dona di detto 45

Martino figliuolo di detto 6

Ginevra figliuola dj detto 14

Sustanze sue coe [cioè]

una chasetta posta in detto pollo [popolo] luogho detto chastagnio per sua abitazione . . .

1^o pezo di terra dj stiaiora iiij lavoratio posto in deto pollo

1^o pezza di prato di stiaiora ij posto in deto pollo luogo deto co [Castagnio] . . .

1^o pezo di terra posto in deto pollo luogo deto chapon cinisi stiaiora

1^o pezo di terra boschata con parchi chastagnini di stiaiora iiij posto in deto pollo

1^o pezo di terra posta in deto pollodi stiaiora iij chastagnata . . .

Som[m]a in tutto fj. 5 lib. 7 sol. 10

[Arch. *idem*, Estimo 1451, Sto. Cod. 769 No. 168]

DOCUMENT 2

Die xxx Maj [1444]

Andreas bartolj simonis pictor ppli [populi] Se Marie del fiore volens venire ad Magistratum dce artis et ponj et describi in Matricula dicte artis inter alios in dicta arte in matricula dicte artis promisit etc juravit etc et promisit solvere flo[renos] sex auri

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Medici e Speciali, Libro delle Matricole, beginning January 1, 1408, Sto. Arti 6, Cod. 21 a c. 370]

DOCUMENT 3

Adj 19 dagosto 1457

Andreino dipintore riposto a sirvi [servi]

[Arch. *idem*, Arte Med. e Spez., Libro della Grascia, Sto. Arti 6, Cod. 244 a c. 134^t]

NOTE

I refer the reader to Giovanni Poggi's "Della data di nascita di Andrea del Castagno," *Rivista d'arte*, XI, 1920, where he proves that Andrea was born in 1433 in the Popolo di San Martino a Corella near Castagno. He also says that later the family must have moved to Castagno.

Although Andrea was in Florence for years, dying there in 1457 and buried there, he made no Portate, showing that he was not a citizen of Florence and must have remained a citizen of Corella or of Castagno. I made a strenuous search to locate him in Castagno, but to no avail. However, as has been seen, I did place his father there in 1451.

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO

DOCUMENT I

Q[quartiere] Santa + Ghonfalone Ruota

Michele di francescho per ladrieto fornaciaio oggi e senza aviamiento veruno

O [ho] nela decima delano 1444 fj. 4

nel dispiacente sol. 5

nelpriimo chatasto delano 1427 sol. 10

Una chasa posta in ciertaldo per non amitare [?]

Una chasa permio abitare achanto allato alla chiesina

Una chasa posta nelpopolo Santo lo[renzo] di firenze chon suo vochaboli e chonfinj nelaquale sta niccolo bariere dane lano di pigione fiorini cinque meza fj. 5½

Un pezo di tera posta nelpopolo di sandonino a brozzi la quale lavora stagio dj dato dame di fitto lano staia nove di grano staia 9

Un pezo dj tera posta a pie di ciertaldo [Certaldo] luogho detto la strada laquale lavora bartolo dantonio danne di fitto lano lire dieci soldi diecj lire 10 sol. 10

Un pezo di tera posta a ciertaldo luogho detto el pogio lavora la detta tera bastiano del bindo danne di fitto lire dodici lire 12

Un pezo di tera posta a pie' di vicho di valdossa [Val d'Elsa] la quale lavora guido da chonporgiano e dj rendita dj staia quindici di grano lanno staia 15

Incharichj

Michele di francescho detto dj sopra danj	65
Mona nanina sua dona deta dannj	40
la tita sua figliuola detta dannj	15
Andrea suo figliuolo deta dannj	12
Tommaso suo figliuolo deta dannj	7
la lorenza sua figliuola danj	4

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di Santa Croce, Gonfalone Ruota Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1446, Sto. Cod. 665 a c. 449]

The Campione Cod. 666 No. 176 gives the tax "Sol. 2 dj aoro."

DOCUMENT 2

Q Sa + Ge Ruote

Sustanze di Michele di francescho fu fornaciaio e oggi venditore i[n] doghana e nel primo catasto disse i[n] michele detto Mona Ghita sua madre adj primo di lo' [luglio] 1427 Sol. 5 dj. 2

ebbe grazia e fu ridotto a sol. 2

una chasa posta nel pplo di santo ambrogio al chanto alla carne per suo abitare da primo via So [sechondo] pagholo di domenico lanino ⅓ la conagnia de[i] tempio [tempio] ¼ nanj di pagholetto fj. 4.10.

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1451, Sto. Cod. 701 No. 291]

The Campione Cod. 702 a c. 638 is a duplicate, so I give only the tax "In tutto e questa graveza fj. 1.2.12.4."

DOCUMENT 3

Q Sca + Go Ruote

Andrea di michele di franciescho cionj et maso suo fratello disse el primo chatasto i[n] michele di franciescho et mona ghita sua madre

ebbe di chatasto fj. - sol. 10 dj. -

Ho di valsente fj. 2 sol. 12 dj. 4

Ho di valsente fj. 1 sol. 8 dj. 11

Sustanze

Una chasa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di Sco ambruogio . . . disse nel primo chatasto i[n] michele mjo padre

una chasa posta nel chastello di certaldo alavia malagoda la quale sappartiene a me andrea a vita per testamento di Tomaso di simone da certaldo ollaquale [ho la quale] da primo via da 2° via da 3° Antonjo benizj da 4° giovanni amirati a di pigione lire sej lan[n]o f.f. 21 sol. 8 dj. 8

un pezo di terra posta nel chomune di certaldo e nel popolo di Sco ipolito a vologniano luogho detto lavanella che istaia dieci . . . rendami lanno istaia 15 di grano

un altro pezzo di terra posto nel detto chomune luogho detto il poggio . . . rende di fitto lib. 8 lanno

uno pezzo di terra in detto chomune luogho detto alla strada . . . rende lanno istaia 6 di grano

e piu ebbe una chasa posta nel detto chastello luogho detto al borgho cho suoj chonfini la quale vende alla zero di fornaio per ff. 43 doro fecie el contratto Ser baldassare di bartolo me[o] di deo vendella nel [1]442 die venzette di giugno

Le sopradette chase vennono nelle mani al sopradetto michele prima per testamento di tom[m]aso di simone

da certaldo e di poi iebbe per testamento di mona lorenza donna di detto tom[m]aso laquale mori nel 1440 ell'altra lebbe el sopradetto michele charta fatta per mano di Ser bindello di dore notaro le quali chase cioebe [che io ebbe] non furono portate nel primo chatasto perche e sopradetto non sopportavano gravezza

E piu ebbe el sopradetto michele dalla detta mona lorenza

Una chasa posta nel popolo di san nicholo q[uartiere] Santo ispirito Go[nfalone] ischala . . . la quale chasa dette per dota allandrea barbiere per ff. 6 . . .

E piu chonpero una chasa posta nel popolo di Sco Ambruogio . . . el sopradetto michele la qual chasa chonpero nel 1432 dalla chonpagnia del tenpio ff. 53 la qual chasa dette in dota allapponia sua figliuola e moglie di pagholo di domenicho lanino . . . ebbela nel 1439

Bocche

Jo andrea danni	21 fj. 200
Mona nannina donna matrignia danni	56 fj. 200
Maso deta danni	16 fj. 200

Debiti

Martino di mugnone avere da noi	lib. 47 sol. — fj.
Jachopo di maffeo vinatiere	lib. 24 sol. — fj.
Anto[nio] mugnaio avere	lib. 73 sol. — fj.

danari a rischutere

davere da nicholaio di Ser filippo da viccho lib. 24 sol. sei—6

o avere tra piu persone altrettanti danari sono povere persone da non avere mai nulla

truovomi delleta vedete e chon pocho essercizio chesso-levo istare allorafo e perche larte non lavora non vi isto piu el detto mio fratello ista chonromolo cechi tessitore per gharzone assalato e non guadagniamo le chalze

The fj. 200 under the names, written by a notary; also the following:

Yhs

Saldi

Som[m]a la prima faccia	fj. 153 sol. 8
Som[m]a la sechonda	fj. 6

159.8.0

abatti per 5 per cento dj fj. 153.8 di.

beni i[m]mobili	fj. 7 sol. 13 dj. 4
e piu per tre bocche	fj. 600
Mancha	fj. 448 sol. 5 dj. 4

Co[n] posto per partito in sol. 4 aoro di chatasto ricorda Ser domenicho notaro sol. 4 aoro

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457, Sto. Cod. 808 No. 183]

The Campione Cod. 810 a c. 592 is a duplicate.

DOCUMENT 4

Q S. + Go Ruota

Andrea di michele di francescho scharpellatore disse nel primo chatasto i[n] michele di francesco e mona ghita sua madre

Go ruota nel 1427 ebbe fj. — sol. 10

Ebbe nel valsente nel 1451 disse in detto michele de francescho

Go ruota fj. 2 sol. 12 di. 4

Ebbe nel chatasto 1457 disse i[n] andrea e maso suo fratello figlioli di

detto michele fj. — sol. 4

Ebbe nella ventina 1468 disse

inandrea propio sopradetto fj. — sol. 5 di. 5

Sustanze

Una chasa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di sco ambrugo . . . la quale o apigionata meza a nicholo di . . . sta chogli oficialj del monte dame di pigione lano fj. 8½ la qual chasa in sul chanto alacharnia fj. 8½ fj. 121 sol. 8 di. 8

boche

Andrea di michele detto deta danni 33 fj. 200

beni alienati

una chasa posta nel chastello di certaldo ch[e] in via malaghoda . . . la quale sapartiene a me a vita

uno pezzo di terra posta in detto comune luogho detto la strada . . . e quali duo pezzi di terra e detta chasa vende a michele di nannj bocchaccinj da certaldo per prezzo e pregio in tutto fj. 55 cioe fiorinj cinquantacinque . . .

una chasa posta in detto chastello luogho detto il borgo chon suo chonfini la quale vende michele mio padre allazero di fornaino da certaldo per prezzo e pregio di fiorini quarantatre . . .

Una chasa posta in firenze nel popolo di sco nicholo oltrano . . . la qual chasa dette in dota a mona tita sua figlolla e moglie di ghorighoro dandrea chomendatore per pregio di fiorini sessanta . . .

Segue beni alienati

Una chasa posta nel popolo di sco ambruogio di firenze la quale chompero mio padre dalla chompagnia del tenpio per pregio di fiorini 53 . . . laqual chasa dette in dota a mona appolonia sua figliola e moglie di pagholo di domenicho lanino in detto chonfalone ruota . . .

Uno pezzo di terra posta nel chomune di sco donino cho suoj chonfini la quale detto michele dette mio padre in dota a mona tita sua figliola e moglie di ghirighoro dandrea chomendatore per pregio di fiorini 20 . . .

uno pezzo di tera posta nel chomune di certaldo luogho

detto lavanella . . . il quale vendero andrea di michele sopradetto a ser bartolomeo di ser simone berti per pregio di fiorini 45 cioe fj. 40 cinque charta fatta cioe una ischritta di mia mano a detto ser bartolomeo fj. 62 sol. 3

Somma la prima faccia delle sue
sustanze fj. 121 sol. 8 di. 6
e piu per io pezo di tera qui di sopra fj. 62 sol. 3
183 11 8

abatti per incharichi di cinque per cento da sopradetti
fj. 6 sol. — di. 6

abattj per incharicho di i/a bocca fj. 200

Manchagli chome si vede qui disopra fj. 22 sol. 9 di. 10
inchonposto per partito degli uficialj i[n] fj. — sol. sei

Roghato ser njcholo farini loro cancelljere soto di. —
fj. — sol. vi

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1470,
Campione Sto. Cod. 915 a c. 19 e 19t]

DOCUMENT 5

In the margin: Richordo

Andrea di michele iscarpelatore adi catasto nel 1470
lire una soldi quattro fj. — lib. 1 sol. 4 lire una

Sostanze

Una chasa posta nel popolo di sco anbruogio di firenze
. . . la qual chasa tiene a pigione giovanni di bartolotti
pizicagnuolo dane fiorini diciotto di sugello doro

Incharichj

tengho una chasa a pigione per mio abitare damesser
ghuglielmo diacopo beschare [?] done di pigione fiorini
diecj di sugello

bocche

andrea di michele sopradetto data danni quarantacinque
ginevra figliola di ghorio chomandatore nipote deta
danni diciasette

lucrezia figliola di detto ghorio deta danni quattordici
michela figliola di detto ghorio deta danni diecj 257.2.10
Som[m]a le sustanze chome di sopra si vede fj.
257.2.10

abatj per mantenere le possessioni a 5 percento
fj. 12.17.2 — fj. 244.5.8

Restano le sustanze chome apare disopra fj. 244.5.8
che a fj. 7 percento fa[n]no di Rendita fj. 17 sol. 1
dj. 11

tochagli a fj. — fj. — lib. 4 19 8

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480,
Campione Sto. Cod. 1006 a c. 51]

DOCUMENT 6

In dei no[m]i[n]e amen	existentibus	prudentibus
vannoizzo iacobi van-	viris consilibus dicte artis	
nucci	pro quattor mensibus ini-	
honorfrio iulianj honor-	tiant. die primo mensis	
fri	Janurarij anno Dom.	
nicolao laurenzij ser an-	MCCCCLXVIIIJ	
ton laurenzi		

piero paulj de terra rosso

Andreas michaelis franci als [alias] verrochio sculptor
matricolavit se dca die (xxii ianuarij) cum beneficio dicti
michaelis matricolatur nelo campione pro civitate

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname,
Libro delle Matricole, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. 2 a c. 153]

DOCUMENT 7

MCCCCLXXIJ

Andrea del verochio dipintore entagliatore de dare per
la grazia fatta adi 7 di giugno 1472 sol. sej equali sono
per conto di suo debito perinsino adi primo di luglio 1472
chome in questoc. 2 lib. — sol. sej ede dare per lla festa
del di di so lucha adi 18 dottobre sol. 5 e per llo presente
anno 1472 lib. — sol. 5

*Two other small charges of sol. 16 and sol. 5. Records
show he paid none of them.*

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San
Luca, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Arti 27, Cod.
2 a c. 10t]

*This probably meant that Andrea had also matriculated in
the Guild of Doctors and Chemists.*

NOTE

Andrea's father seems to have been born in Certaldo. Andrea was born in Florence, probably in 1434 or, perhaps, in 1435 as he is not mentioned in his father's Portata of 1433 nor is his birth expected. As has been seen, his father gave up being a "firer" of terra cotta, as it was not a profitable business, and in 1442 went back to Certaldo with his family. But perhaps life was too quiet for him there, and we find him back in Florence later in a new profession, "seller at the Excise Office."

Andrea's first Portata shows him to be of a happy-go-lucky disposition and humorous, as he can joke about his being out of work when he says, "We are not earning our hose." His Portata of 1470 shows his thrift in selling most of his real estate and living in a house willed to him for life. In his Portata of 1480 he demonstrates more thrift in selling all his real estate except the house willed to him. This he has leased and lives in a rented house. He has taken into his home three nieces.

ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO

DOCUMENT 1

Sustanza di

Jacopo dant^o di giovannj bencj e de frateglj ella madre pollaiuolj anno dichatasto sol. 4

Debitori

Truovasi piu debitorj coe 156 debitorj per la sua scritta apare chosj il primo E papi dandrea righattiere debitore di lib. 7 sol. 15 pli [piccioli] e lultimo bernaba pizzicagnolo debitore di lib. 4 sol. 8 intutto fanno la somma chome per la sua scritta apare lib. 2215 sol. 14

Stimagl^j buonj lib. 806 stimale dacordo f. 250

Trafficha i[n] danarj e derrate lib. 10 pli fi. 25

Incharichi

Tiene a pigione una chasa da ser Iacopo di bonaiuto landi dove abito e donne di pigione lanno fj. 9 a fj. 7 percento fj. 128 sol. 11 dj. 4

Tengho a pigione una botteggha al servitio de polli da niccola arrighucci donne [ne do] lanno fj. 7½ fj. —

Tengho a pigione dalla Torre in mercato vecchio dove fa larte donne lanno fj. 12½ di pigione

Chreditori

Spedale di santa maria nuova fj. 15

Mariotto di Franco di Ser Segna

e compagnia fj. 6 — fj. 6

Niccolo di bartolomeo Vo [vocato]

rusa cuocho fj. 4 — fj. 4

Nicola . . . arricuccj fj. 4 — fj. 4

Bocche

Iacopo dant^o danni 33 fj. 200

Nanna dant^o danni 28 fj. 200

Giovanni dant^o danni 18 fj. 200

Tomaxa diacopo danni 20 fj. 206

Lionarda dant^o dannj 13 fj. 200

Antonio diacopo dannj 1½ fj. 200

Mo[na] Nicolosa nostra madre dannj 60 fj. 200

Written by a notary:

Sommano le sue sustanze fj. 227

Sommano Incharichi e bo[cche] fj. 1542 sol. 11 dj. 4

Manchagli fj. 1267 11 4

Composto i[n] sol. 4 dacordo

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di Santo Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, Portata al Catasto 1433, Campione Sto. Cod. 490 a c. 245^t]

DOCUMENT 2

Quartiere Santo ispirito G/e [ghonfalone] drago

Dinanzi a voj signiorj diecj uficialj della conservatione e motazione [aumentazione] della graveza nova della citta di firenze per Jacopo dantonio di giovanni pollaiuolo

nona [non ha] soza [sostanza] nisuna [niuna] e on[ne] [ne ho] di graveza lib. 19 dj. 1

Isto a pigione ne la chassa di piero dighabello pacinozi [?] pagho fj. 9 lanno e ne[1] ppolo [popolo] di Santta maria maggiore

Sono detta danni quara[n]ta due 42

Ella tomasa sua donna detta dannj 30

Antonio mio figlolo detta dannj 10

Salvestro detta danj 8

Giovanni detta danj 6

Lagnuola detta danj 5

Piero detta danj uno 1

Written by a notary:

Nonna sustanzia

J/a test

Sol. 4 [the tax]

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1442, Sto. Cod. 613 a c. 19]

DOCUMENT 3

Q di So ispirito ge [gonfalone] dragho

Dinanzi avoj signorj Uficialj della nova graveza delanno 1446 fuj chonposto

Jachopo dantonio di giovannj pollaiulo fuj chompresso ne[1] chatasto ant^o di giovannj sopra detto mio padre i[n] sol. 8 nella decima ebi sol. 6 di 8

Mobili

due istaiera di vigna posta a monte varchi fu di nuto di bacj shera [che era] a estimo Jachopo detto moro

Incarichj

uno podrazo ancho afitto che di lucha dj jacho[po] di nello qu[artiere] + [Santa Croce] ge [gonfalone] bue posto nel pigno di grassa cho suj chonfinj . . . pagone lib. 28 lano

Isto a pigione nella chassa di pi[e]ro palnciatichj e pagho lano fj. 9 posta nel popolo di santa maria maggiore chonfina cholle rede dj filippo di ba[r]naba deglia[g]lj da sechondo e[1] chiasso di buoj

Anche a pigione una botteggha che della tore pagho lano fj. 11 e ½

Incharichj delle bo[c]che

Jacopo dant^o di giovanni sopradetto deta danni 47

Mona Tomasa mia dona detta danni 35

Antonio mio figlio detta danni 15

Salvestro mio figliuolo detta danni 13

Lagniola mia figliuola detta danni 10 e nona dotta

Giovannj mio figlolo detta danni 5

Chossa mia figliola detta messi [mesi] 9 e nona dotta e no mj posso

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1446, Sto. Cod. 654 a c. 383 e 383t]

DOCUMENT 4

IHS al nome di dio adj XIII daghosto 1451

Q di S Xpo [spirito] G dragho

+ Sustanze

Jacopo dant^o di Giovanj Pollaiuolo

Nel primo chatasto diceva ant^o di Giovani mio padre et nela decima del 1447 dicie i[n] me propio et debj sol. 17 dj. VIIIJ no[n] sono suto [stato] ne verescritto ne sgravato Restomj i[n] sol. 17 dj. VIIIJ

ho[n]no nulla di Rendita ne di bene i[m]mobilj fo una bottega dj pollaiuolo i[n] merchato et traficho per tale servizio lib cinquanta cioe lib. 50

Beni alienatj

non ebi mai nulla ne ant^o mio padre ne nel chatasto ne nono al presente tengo a pigione da piero di ghabriello panciaticj una chasa posta alapiaza de chavalj per mio abitare done lano dj pigione fj. nove cioe fj. VIIIJ

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1451, Sto. Cod. 692 a c. 121]

DOCUMENT 5

Qre So Spir Go dragho

Jacopo dantonio di giova[n]nj pollaiuolo diceva nel primo catasto i[n]nant^o dj giovan[n]j mio padre

nel primo catasto sol. 6 dj. 6

Valsente sol. —

cinquina sol. 10

Sustanze

½ casa posta acharmignano i[n] suchonfinj della corte dj renaccio che da primo via sechondo el podere dj sandro speziale ⅓ [terzo] detto sandro ¼ eldetto sandro laquale tengo per mio abitare fj. — fo una bottega di pollaiuolo i[n] mercato chelsito [ch'è il sito] degljuficialj della torre chene pagho lano fj. 11

e in sulla detta bottega trafficho lib. 104 fj. 25

debitori del 1421 i[n]sino di mio padre

Lists 87 for various sums.

E sopra detti debitori sono e ⅔ [due terzi] perduti e volentierj glj darej perlla meta et anche glj farej meglio acchi glj togliassj da[m]me perche mi paiono tutti perduti

Creditori

Paradiso di Xpofano [Cristofano] pollaiuolo lib. 17.11 fj. 4.7.9

lorenzo di marchio pollaiuolo lib. 10 fj. 2.10

bocche

Jacopo detto deta da[n]nj 58 fj. 200

Ma Tomasa mia do[n]na deta da[n]ni 45 fj. 200

Antonio mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni 24 fj. 200

Salvestro mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni 22 fj. 200

Giova[n]ni mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni 17 fj. 200

Piero mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni 14 fj. 200

Cosa mia figliola deta da[n]ni 10 fj. 200

e non a dote fj. 200

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457, Sto. Cod. 796 a c. 712-712t e 713]

There is no Campione.

DOCUMENT 6

Quartiere di Scto Spirito ghtonfallone dragho

Antonio di Jacopo d'Antonio horafo del polaiuolo chonpreso nel chatasto 1470 sotto Jachopo mio padre e chosi ebe nel sesto 1474

Ebe di chatasto fj. — lib. 4 sol. 1 dj. 8

Ebe di sesto chera difattj fj. 3 lib. 3 sol. 2 dj. 6

fu mancippatto di Jacho mio padre adj xj di maggio 1459 . . .

Sustanze

Una chasa per mio abitare popolo di santa maria i[n] sula piazza deglaglj . . . conperaj da sindachj di filippo di domenicho degliaglj fj. 400 di sugello . . .

Un podere nel chontado di pistoia che ne vorej di guno luogho detto a quaranta popolo di san michele a boriano . . .

Declares various vineyards and pieces of land.

Fo una bottega dorafo i[n] una bottega la quale e vascheriera [?] delerede di jachopo baronceglj donne [ne do] lanno di pigione fj. 14 di sugelo nelaquale o per chonpagno pagolo di giovannj soglianj el quale trae per lira sol. 6 ed io traggio sol. 14 per lira che si faceva piu pe[r] lui e esser stato per gharzone i[n] molto abbiamo fatto i[n] sulla bottega none abbiamo chorpo solevano fare chol credito di banchj e anche questo e manchato Restiamo di chorpo le nostre maseritie chon pocha speranza di bene se dio no[n] provvede

Ebi di dota fj. 800 tute queste sustanze non fanno la somma dela dote e domanj che manchassj e labi [l'abbia] la sua dote non rimanendo nulla ala chasa che non rimangha di fatti che rimane jo mevi rachomando

Boche

Antonio sopradetto deta dannj 49

Marietta mia donna deta danni 29

. . .

Tochaglj a fj. 4 per lib. 6 lire 6.4.8

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480, Campione Sto. Cod. 999 a c. 14 e 14t]

DOCUMENT 7

Q So Spo Go dragho

Antonio diacopo orafo plo [popolo] di Sa Ma Maggiore di firenze disse lagravezza 1481 i[n] nome dco Antonio i[n] drago qe So Spirito

Sustanze

j/a [una] chasa per mio abitare plo di Sa Ma Mage i[n] sulla piazza degliagl chon finestra a primo detta piazza sechondo $\frac{1}{3}$ Messer bernardo degliagl friere $\frac{1}{4}$ guliano di piero panciatichj $\frac{1}{5}$ mjo fratello $\frac{1}{6}$ noferj degliagl

io [uno] pedere posto nel chontado di pistoia luogo detto quaranta plo di So Mjchele a burzano conperato dal 1481 i[n]drieto . . .

E piu chonperaj io [un] pezzo di staiora cho una chaseta boschato posto i[n] detto pl . . . chosto lib. 63 . . .

un altro pezzo di te[r]ra chera i[n] mezzo uno chiasso tra uno alaltro chonperaj . . . lib. 68 piccioli

una chiusa cho una chaseta chonperai . . . chostomj fj. 4 e piu uno chanpo . . . di 2 staiora chonperai . . . lib. 24 . . .

uno pezzo di vigna i[n]detto plo . . . chosto lib. 30 . . .

uno pezzo di tera posto nel plo dela . . . delgherardo conperato . . . fj. 33 $\frac{1}{2}$

uno pezzo di tera lavorata hulivata e soda posto nel plo chonperato . . . fj. 1 sol. —

una chasetta concerti pezzuoli di te[r]ra posti i[n] detto plo . . .

2 pezzi di te[r]ra uno lavoratio e uno sodo overo boschato posto nel plo della pieve di bachorato . . .

uno pezzo di te[r]ra di staiora 6 incirca posti insulon-brone luogo detto ala chasolana . . .

uno pezzo di te[r]ra di staiora 6 incirca posta nel plo di Santo Stefano . . .

Incharichj

Tengho affitto da vescovado di pistoia 2 pezzi di te[r]ra postj nel plo di So Michele a buriano luogo detto albondanza . . .

1459 Roghato Ser Silvano notaio di por Santa maria a libro rosso dela merchatanzia c. 56

Sustanze

Una chasa per mio abitare popolo di santa maria maggiore i[n] sulla piazza degliagl chonfinati da prima detta piazza sechondo Messer lionardo degliagl [degli Agli] friere $\frac{1}{4}$ guliano di piero panciatichj $\frac{1}{5}$ giovanni mio fratello $\frac{1}{6}$ noferj di nicholo di lotto degliagl la quale chonperaj da sindachj di filippo di domenicho degliagl fj. 400 di sugello Rogato Ser Barone notaio di dettj sindachj furon parte dela dote dela mi donna

Un podere nel chontado di pistoia che ne vorej essere digione luogo detto a quara[n]ta popolo di samichele a buriano chonperalo da brasiotto di michele da bacheroto fj. 415 larghj . . .

Poi chonperai un pezo di terra nel popolo di buriano chon una chasaccia boschato . . .

unaltro pezzo di terra cheve i[n] mezo un chiasso traluno e laltro chonperai da andrea di gione lib. 68

una chusura i[n] pistoia chostomj fj. 40 larghi . . .

una vigna a chastello plo [popolo] di Maria overo Santo stefano i[n] pane chonperala i[n]nanzi laltro chatasto del anno 1470 chonperala da bartolomeo di giovannj cierauiolo fj. 35 . . .

O fj. ciento i[n] suna chasa drieto al chiasso de buoj e quali si pagharono sotto nome di chonpare di soma di fj. 300 nellanno 1470 . . .

Tengho a fitto daantonio e cristofano spinj $\frac{1}{3}$ di podere fuorj dela porta al prato donne lanno lib. 36 piccioli . . .

Fo una bottega orafo i[n] vaccheriera i[n]nuna bottega la quale e de lerede di jacopo baroncellj donne lanno di pigione fj. 14 di sugello nela quale o per chonpagnio pagholo di giovanni solianj el quale trae per lib. 6 edio traggo sol. 14 per lib. che si faceva per lui e per gharzone i[n] modo abiamo fatto i[n] sulaquale botegha non abiamo chorpo solevano fare cholcredito de banchi e anche questo e manchato restiamo di chorpo le nostre maserizie chon poca speranza di bene se dio non provede

Ebi di dota fj. 800 tutte queste sustanze non fanno la somma dela dote e domanj chi manchassj e labi la sua dote non rimanendo nula ala chasa che non rimanga diffatti chi rimane Jo me vi rachomando

Bocche

Antonio sopradetto deta danni 49

Marietta mia donna deta dannj 29

Tengho affitto dallo [Car]marlingho del veschovado di pistoia uno pezzo di terra di staiora 4 jncirca posto nel plo di So michele a buriano luogo detto ala Sonchereta . . .

Tengho a fitto no[n] chorperando da prete ghodenzio di pistoia 2 pezzi di tera posto nel plo di So Lucha a quaranta . . .

beni alienatj

Una chasa posta nel plo di sto michele bertoldj drieto al chiasso do ognano ala chiesa di So Michele a buriano profitto dela chasa chonperaj dalla chiesa detta per fare chasa per mio abitare

benj alienatj

una chasa posta nel plo di So michele bertaldi drieto al chiasso de buoj laquale 1481 avevo chonperata fj. 300 . . .

Ebbi in dote da Ma lorenza figliuola di fandone fandoni mja dona

Una entratura duna bottega i[n] merchatò vecchio che oggi labito e più ebbj in dote da detta Ma lucrezia e da detto fandone una chassa posta nel plo di So piero mag[ior]e dirimpetto a san piero fano nella via del giardino del detto fandone chon suoi chonfinj

La quale entratura e chasa mi fu convinta per la via del podesta di firenze dalla Nanjna figliuola fu di piero [*a word indecipherable*]

Go chiavi per la sua dote che fu sodo primo chollamja Dentro la detta chasa di sopra perche la graveza sia posta a chi tiene e detti beni e per non perdere la mia ragione se jo non potessi mai ritrare alchuna chosa

E più abiamo una meza chasa cioè dal fattoio insulaquale e di nostra madre tiella domenicho di sandro speciale da 1449 in qua accipromesso di farcj el dovere e maj non sene auto nulla la quale chonfina chol suo fattoio chonfina cholla sua vendemia e risponde in sulla via publica

Tax computation written by another notary:

tochagli per la decima fj. 7 sette sol. xiiij dj. 4 larghi

Abi in Ma lucrezia donna fu dantonio di jachopo orafo per la decima di fj. 17.13.3 insoma di fj. 10.8

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1498 Decima, Sto. Cod. 8 a c. 4, 5-6]

DOCUMENT 8

MCCCCLXXIJ

Antonio diachopo del polauolo orafo e dipintore de dare per lla grazia fatta a di 17 di giugno 1472 dogni debito per i[n]sino ad primo di luglio 1472 sol. sei chome in questo a c. 2 lib. — sol. 6

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San Luca, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 2 a c. 13^t]

NOTE

It will be noted that the chicken business was not very profitable for Antonio's father. It is true that he made sales but he was not paid for them. I found the names of members of prominent families who did not seem concerned about paying for the fowl they had eaten. As has been seen, Jacopo considered his credits as sixty-six per cent worthless. He then adds that he would willingly accept half; and on final consideration holds them to be all lost.

It is to be regretted that Jacopo's Portata of 1470 has been lost, as it might have given the name of the goldsmith who perhaps taught Antonio his craft.

In the Portata of 1480 Antonio seems to take little pleasure in his *bottega* and his young assistant, as shown in confusing words. There is no agreement as to the shop, although there is as to tools, et cetera. He has small hope

of any good coming out of his arrangements "if God does not provide." He is also pessimistic about getting value for the 800 florins of his wife's dowry, as "nothing remains in the house," and appeals to the tax officials for consideration. However, the considerable tax paid shows that his assets exceeded his debts. His prosperity, the result of his genius and brains, may be compared with the virtual bankruptcy of his father. The Portata of 1498 virtually repeats the remarks about the *bottega* and the wife's dowry.

It is interesting to note that Antonio matriculated in the Guild of Physicians and Chemists. It might be argued that he did so because he did not intend to take up sculpture seriously. Be that as it may, he never joined the Guild of Masters of Stone and Wood and always described himself in his Portate as "goldsmith and painter."

ANTONIO BERNARDO AND DOMENICO
GAMBERELLI I ROSSELLINI

DOCUMENT I

Q d So Spo [Spirito] Ge dragho

Bernardo di matteo dj domenicho ghanbarelli nonnebbe [non ebbe] catasto fuglj posto la graveza per li opportuni consiglj a dichiarazione de conservatori delle leggi dice la posta Bernardo di matteo di domenicho e fratellj ganbarelgj

Ebbono di valsente sol. 14

Ebbono di graveza sol. 12

Sustanze

unachasa per mio abitare e per lla mia famiglia posta nello popolo di sco anbroso ge [gonfalone] detto chiavi di sco giovanni confini a primo via a ij guliano di tani Rigattieri a iij lorenzo obriachi a iiij nicholo di giovanni calzolaio comperata da Ser ambrozo anzari a dj. di settembre 1439

Here declares 13 pieces of land.

unachasetta per mio abitare nello castello di santo giovanni luogho detto al fosso a j e ij confini via a iij Nardo falserone a 4 heredi di mannato dipintore conperala da soldo dandrea del soldato ghanherini costa fj. . . . addj 15 di marzo 1456

Declares a vineyard and a piece of land.

una chasa per nosto habitare posta in detto luogho con detti confini (popolo di sca Maria a settignao luogho detto ganbaraia)

unpezo di sodo nel pplo [popolo] di scolorenzo a vincigliata . . .

Traficho

Truovomi affare larte dello scarpello nella bottega

Tiene a pigione giovanni et tomaso di matteo mia fratelli dannone [ne danno] lanno di picione fj. 18 a

giovanni di nicholaro overo santo stefano della badia truovomi in detta bottega e fuori di bottega piu pezi di marmo di piu ragoni di valuta dj. fj. 50

E piu mi ritruovono pezzi di macigni lavorati e no lavorati dj stima di fj. 10 o circha.

Debitori

Lists 34 for various sums amounting in all to fj. 30.

Incharichi

Lists 24 for various sums for a total of lib. 573.

Boche

Bernardo sopradetto dani 48 fj. 200

Ma Matea sua dona danj 40 fj. 200

Gulio suo figliolo dani 18 fj. 200

Giovanbatista suo figliolo dani 17 fj. 200

Francescha sua figliola dani 10 fj. 200

Girolamo suo filiolo dani 3 fj. 200

E piu abbiamo un jncharicho di lib. 153 di tasse si paghano in 3 paghe fatte per consigli durante lestimo tra bernardo e fratreglj lib. 153

Beni alienati

Un pezo di terra dj staiora a vende a lorenzo dj tutto da chastelo So giovanni e fratellj adi 7 di marzo 1456 per pregio dj fj. 28

un pezo si terra di staiora 3 . . . per pregio dj fj. 10

voremmo essere divisi dalla posta che dice bernardo e frateglj dicessj bernardo una posta chome dice questa portata e frateglj una altra posta . . . chomposto choglu-ficiali in sol. otto aoro di chatasto Rogato Ser domenicho da chaccignanno loro notaro fj. — sol. 8 aoro

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Chia-vi, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457, Campione Sto. 829 a c. 671-675]

DOCUMENT 2

Q si So spo[spirito] G dragio

Domenicho frattelj e figliolj dj matteo di domenicho

Giovanni ghanbareglj no[n] e bono chatasto fu

Maso loro posto la graveza per glj oportunj

Antonio chonsiglj a dichiarazione deglj uficiali delle legj e dice la posta Bernardo di Matteo di domenicho ghanbareglj e fratellj ebono dj

Graveza sol. 12

Valsente sol. 14

Sustanza

Una chasa posta nel popolo di santo piero maggiore per loro abitare e per loro famiglie luogho detto via fiesolana a primo via sechondo benedetto e tomaso di punino panni a 1/3 Giovanni di zanobi da meletto a 1/4 detto punini

un pezo di terra posta nel popolo di Santa Maria a Settignano di staiora 120 o circha . . .

una chasa coe una chasa chon dette terre per loro abitare chon detti chonfini

un pezo di sodo nel polo [popolo] di santo lorenzo a vincigliata di staiora . . . o circha co[n] chave di piettre

. . .

e piu rintroviamo pechore ventjtre 23

Le quali pechore sono a sorj [?] di chasentino tiello antonio dj tano chostorono lib. 40

Trafichj

Truoviamocj fare larte dello scharpello in una bottega laquale tegniamo a pigione da giovanj di nicholaio da filichara di agnano la[n]no di pigione fj. 18 di pigione

abbiamo dentro tantj pezj di macignj lavorati e no lavorati di stima di lib. 400 o circha

Lists 27 debtors in small amounts for a total of fj. 6-5.

abbiamo avere in piu partite lib. 60 estimiamoglj

Incarichj

Lists 28 creditors for small sums.

abbiamo a dare a piu persone

abbiamo di tassa lib. 153 la[n]no fatto per consiglj

paghano ttra noj e bernardo nostro fratello jn tre paghe agli uficiali del monte

Boche

In the margin: boche xi

Mona mea nostra madre danj 76 fj. 200

domenicho suo figliolo danj 56 fj. 200

Giovan[n]i suo figliolo danj 36 fj. 200

Tomaso suo figliolo danj 30 fj. 200

Antonio suo figliolo danj 30 fj. 200

Mona ginevra do[n]na di Giovanj danj 31 fj. 200

Mona benedetta do[n]na di maso anj 28 fj. 200

Jachopo figliolo di Giovanj e di Ma ginevra danj 8 fj. 200

Matteo figliolo dj maso e ma benedetta danj 5 fj. 200

Biliotto figliolo di deto Maso danj 1 fj. 200

Luchrezia figliola di deto maso danj 3 fj. 200

Vorremo essere divisi della posta che dice Bernardo e frateglj dicessi domenicho dj matteo e frateglj come dice questa portata e laltra dicesse Bernardo solo

Saldo

. . .

. . .

Chonposto per partito degloficialj i[n] sol. sei Roghato Ser domenicho loro notaio fj. — sol. 6

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457, Campione Sto. No. 329 a c. 679 e 679t]

DOCUMENT 3

MCCCCLXVIIIJ

Q Scto Giovanni Ghonfalone Chiavi

Antonio di matteo ghanbarellj scharpellatore dinanzi ad
voj signorj uficialj del Chatasto

nel chatasto del [14]27 non e nominato perche de
cittadinj antichj si tovarono in contado poj furono entre-
giatj Cittadinj fj. — sol. — di —

nel valsente del [14]51 jnel g[onfalone] drago So
Spo in antonio detto fj. sol. 16 dj. 3

nel chatasto del [14]58 jn domenicho di matteo gan-
barellj e fratelli sol. 6 dj. in el g[onfalone] delle chiavi
nella valsente del [14]68 detti nome e gonfalone fj. sol.
9 dj. 2

Sustanza

Unachasa posta in via fiesolana fu portata nel chatasto
del 58 in e sopradetti nomi domenicho o fratellj et in
detto g[onfalone] chiavj

Di poi si divison dettj fratelli et toccha la meta al detto
antonio et ridotto a mia abitare jn quale sta con la sua
famiglia nella loro meta sta giovannj suo fratello

. . .
. . .

tengho a pigione una bottega da piero di francesco bal-
dovini dirimpetto a — nellaquale maseritie dello scarpel-
latori et paghagliene la[n]no fj. 2

Bocche

Antonio di matteo sopradetto deta da[n]ni XLIJ fj.
200

Ma lisabetta sua donna dan[n]i xxviiij fj. 200

Margherita loro figliuola danj iij fj. 200

Chaterina sua figliuola danj ij fj. 200

bartolomea loro figliuola danj i fj. 200

Et de gravida dj sette mesj detta Ma lisabetta

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1470,
Campione Sto. No. 297 a c. 50]

DOCUMENT 4

In xri [Christi] No[m]i[n]e amen ano eiusdem in-
carnationis

Millo quadragintiesio sexagesimo quarto Indictione xij
existensibus prudentibus viris

Johe magisterj petri in- consulibus artis magistro-
tagliatoi rum pro quattuor mensibus

Jacobo Andree nofrj ro- init. die primo mensis maij
molj 1464

Luca Simone della rob-
bia

Johane Barthij bellacini

. . .

Anthonius ghambarelli ghambarellj scarpellator de sep-

tignano reconovit matricula[m] petri gambarellj eius
fratris die xxiiiij martij 1463

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname,
Libro delle Matricole, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. 2 a c. 123]

DOCUMENT 5

adj xxiiiij di septembre [1464]

Bernardo lastraiuolo Riposta i[n] S Piero maggiore di
lungo malj [lunga malatia]

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Medici e Speciali, Libro dei Morti,
Sto. Arti 6, Cod. 245 a c. 74^t]

NOTE

These Portate seem to speak for themselves. My only
comment will be to point out that Luca della Robbia was
one of the Consuls who admitted Antonio to the *Arte dei
Maestri di Pietra e Legname*.

BENEDETTO DA MAIANO

DOCUMENT 1

*The text of this Portata is almost completely erased by
water. What follows is taken from the accurate contem-
porary copy of Monte Comune.*

Q di S giovanni Go[nfalone] lionedoro pplo
[popolo] dj S lorezo di firenze

Giulano di lionardo di Antonio legniaiuolo e fratellj
dichiarati uficialj dellestimo essere abili a venire a graveza
nella citta di firenze chome per la fede e deliberazione di
dieci uficiali pottete vedere

Sustantie

Una chasa per nostro abitare posta in firenze i[n] detto
pplo di S. lorenzo i[n] via che da primo detta via a ij la
conpagnia de tedeschi a iij sandro paghaniotti a iij . . .
conprollo lionardo nostro padre . . . sotto di sette di mag-
gio MCCCCLXV fj. 400

uno pezzo di vignia di staiora sette in circha posta nel
pplo di S Martino a sesto luogho detto . . . gapinorij la
quale riconpro da matteo di lorenzo viviani . . . rende
lanno in parte vino barili xv fj. 64.6

piupezi di terra lavoratia e vitata dj staiora incircha a
chorda in tutto posta a porta dichapo di ponte di prato
overo nella villa di mezana luogho detto mulinari . . .
la quale si conpro da bartolomeo di Giovanni di bertino da
prato per pregio di fj. otto ¼ lo staioro . . .

Rende lanno in parte

grano staia quaranta

Vino barili cinque fj. 201—13—9

facciamo una bottega di legniauolo nella via de servi
di stima di fj. xxxij fj. 23

beni alienati

Una chasa chon palchi sale camere e altri suo hedifici
posta in firenze in detto pplo di S. lorenzo . . .

la quale ci chonvinse mariotto di bartolomeo per dote
della madre per sententia data nella chorte del podesta di
firenze chome chiaro potremo mostrare alle S[ignorie]
V[ostre]

boche

Giuliano detto deta danni xxxviii

Giovanni mio fratello deta dani xxxi

Benedetto mio fratello deta dani xxviii

Ma Diana nostra madre deta dani lv

Ma lena dona di me Giuliano deta dani xxviii

francescha figliuola di me Giuliano deta dani viii

Ginevra figliuola di me giuliano deta dani vi

Lucretia figliuola di me giuliano deta dani iiij

Tochagli per le sue sustanze et per 3 teste di chatasto
sechondo la legge ellareghola del chatasto fj. 1.17.10

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Leon
d'Oro, Portata al Catasto 1469, Campione Sto. No. 924
a c. 615]

DOCUMENT 2

Q S giovani gonfalone liono doro

Giuliano di lionardo dantonio da maiano lastraiuolo
benedetto del popolo di sa lorenzo di firenze govanj
di govani di lionardo nipote de sopradetti
avemo di chatasto nel 1470 in detto gonfalone e nome
di guliano deto e frateglj ffj.—sol. 17 d. 10
abiamo al presente di sesto in detti nomi fj. 1 sol. 3 dj. 4

Sostanze

una chasa per nostro abitare posta jn via di sangalo in
detto popolo un pezzo di terra lavoratia e vitata di staiora
30 achordo posta a porta di chapo di ponte overo nela vila
di majano luogho detto in ulinari . . .

uno pezo di terra lavoratia e vitata di staiora 5 in circha
nel popolo di san marchio di prato luogo deto inulinari
. . .

una pieza di terra lavoratia e vitata e alborata di staiora
35 a chorda posta ne soborghi di prato luogo deto la
ponte . . .

dua pieze di terra lavoratia e vitata e alborata in dua
parte staiora 44 a chorda posto nel popolo di san piero a
mugniano staiora 44 a chorda e posto nel popolo di san
piero a mugniano chontado di prato luogo detto
chastagnjo . . .

una chasa dalavoratore e da signjorie soleva avere
cholonbaia e ogi e disfatta chon una piesa di tera lavoratia
e vitata e alborata di staiora . . . a chorda . . . posta ne
soborghi di prato luogo deto aloli no popolo di Sa
marchio . . .

abiamo di vantage serque 4 duova et due paia di
polastri et un paio di chaponi fj. 10

una terasa disfata la quale fu di messer iachopo de pazi
posta nel popolo di santa marja inchanpo fj. 203

fone una bottega di legnjaiuolo nela via de servi chon
sua maserizie e feramenti

faciamo una bottega di scharpelatore nel chastelaco
chon sua maserizie e feramenti 213.11.6

Incharichi

siamo obrigati a fare ogni anno uno uficio a Sa lorenzo
che chosi ci lascio nostro padre del mese di marzo chosi
abiamo fatto e facciamo che spendiamo fj. uno largho
i[n] ognianno

tegniamo a pigione dantonio del palagio e frateglj
3 botege chasolaj 2 poste nela via de servi e una nel
chastelaco diame di pigione fj. 16 l[arghi] e apigioion-
jamouna a orsino di michele faleniagjne [falegniamie]
delaquale ci da fj. 6 l[arghi]

mori govanj nostro fratello a di 10 dagosto 1478
abiamo a rendere la dote ala dona sua che fue ff. 500 . . .

Bocche

Giuliano di nardo deta danj 48

benedetto detto danj 38

Mona diana nostra madre danj 65

Mona lena dona di guliano danj 38

francescha figliuola di guliano danj 18 adidote sul
monte ff. trecento

ginevra figliuola di guliano dani 16 a di dote fj. dugen-
tonovata

lucrezia figliuola di guliano dani 14 a di dote sul monte
fj. centocinque

Mona fioretta moglie fue di govanj nostro fratello
dani 25

Gonstanza figliuola fue di deto govani deta dani 8 a
didote sul monte fj. centoventicinque

sandra figliuola di deto govani deta dani 5 a didote sul
monte fj. centoventicinque

govani figliuolo di deto govani deta dani 1½

Beni alienati

Uno pezo di tera vignjata di staiora 3 in circha e posta
nel popolo di Samartino a sesto . . . pregio di ff. 35
larghi lib. una sol. 14

. . .

Tochagli di graveza pelaschala a fj. 11.10
fj. undici sol. nove danari viii
fj. 11.9.9

. . .

Tochagli a fj. larghi fj. 13 lib. 3 10 0

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480,
Campione Sto. No. 1016 a c. 310-310t e 311]

DOCUMENT 3

Qre di S. Giovan[n]j Ge [Gonfalone] liondoro

Benedetto di lionardo dantonios scultore pplo di sco lorenzo di fire[n]ze disse la graveza della[n] no MCCCCLXXXI Giuliano et Benedetto di lionardo dantonio Ge [Gonfalone] detto di poi mori Guliano

Sostanze

Una casa per mio abitare posta i[n] detto popolo i[n] via di S. ghallo confinata a primo via a ij benj della compagnia detedeschi a iij lotto di . . . a iij beni di Sandro Pagagnioti fj. —

una piesa di terra lavoratia et ulivata dj staiora xxx a corda in tutto posta nel pplo di S Marcho di prato . . . Conperossi da chime[n]ti di domenicho barbiere e da bartolomeo dj . . . da prato . . . sotto dj viiidaghosto MCCCCLXV

Rende la[n]no i[n]parte

Grano staia xi	grano st. 40
vino barili v	vino b. 5

un pezo di terra lavoratia viniata et arborata di staiora vj i[n]circa posta i[n] detto pplo di S Marcho i[n] porta Tiesi luogho detto el mulinari . . . conperossi da Piero di Giovani di Cinio da pielmo[n]te . . . sotto di xiiij di Nove[n]bra MCCCCLXXII

Rende la[n]no in parte

Grano staia viii	grano St. 8
vino barili due	vino bl. 2

una presa di terra lavoratia di staiora xxxv a corda i[n] circha posta ne sobborghi di porta Tiesi di prato luogho detto allafonte . . . e chonperossi da Gino di lando e da Ma Antonia sua madre . . . sotto di xiiii di luglio MCCCCLXXXIJ

rende i[n]parte

Grano staia xlc	grano st. 45
vino barili viii	vino b. 8

dieci prese di terra lavoratia et prodotta divisi i[n] x pezi overo ca[m]pi di staiora xliii o circha i[n] tutto a corda posta nel pplo di S piero agniagniano contado di prato i[n]luogho detto a cascagno . . . Conperossi da Giovanni di Nicholo di co[n]te peruzzi . . . sotto di vij di nove[n]bre MCCCCLXXIJ

Rende in parte la[n]no

Grano staia xl	grano St. 40
Vino barili xv	vino b. 15

una chasa con suoj habitari e con unpresa diterra lavoratia et vinia et arborata di xiiii i[n] circha a corda posta nel pplodi S Marcho di prato ne sobborghi di porta di capo di po[n]te i[n]luogho detto allutino . . . conperossi da Gino di lando da prato . . .

Rende la[n]no i[n] parte

Grano staia xxv	grano st. 25	fj. 90
vino barili v	vino bli. 5	

tre quarti di un pezo di terra lavoratia e prodota di staiora viii i[n] circha tutto detto pezo posta nel pplo di S Piero di prato . . . conperossi da Giovannj di domenicho becchacci da piemo[n]te et da jachopo di cinto lanaiuolo i[n] prato per pregio di fj. LVIJ e no se ne anchora fatto nula

laltra quarta parte tengho affitto da frati del carmine di prato done di fitto staia tre di grano elib. 2 sol. x la[n]no

Rende i[n]parte

Grano st[aia] xii	grano st. 12	fj.
vino barili iij	vino b. 3	

tutte le dette tere lavora Martino di — dicci da mezzana a dare diposta lib. xi a vani di vanezzi tienvi sudetto Martino uno paio di buoi capponi paia due

pollastri paia quattro
huova serque otto

una torre con una botteggha sotto de la quale fu di messer Jachopo de pazj posta nel pplo di S M[aria] i[n]ca[n]po presso al canto de pazi confina a primo via a ij benedetto di Messer francescho Marchi a iij soldo di gieri de pazi la quale fu consegnato per glj uficiali de Rubelli piu te[n]po fa per credonostro credito

tienla a pigione da Bucho[lo] [?] di Giovannj dipintore da[m]me lan[n]o di pigione lib. LXXXIJ lib. 74 fj. 14.16

un pezo di terra di staiora xxxiiij per un verso e per laltro staiora xi la quale conperaj da Piero de Medici Gel [gonfalone] L[ion]doro perfare una botteggha per me posta nella via chevalungolachiesa de servi confina a primo detta via a ij bartolo[m]meo da . . . legnaiuolo a iij beni dello spedale deglj i[n]noce[n]tj a iij bartolo[m]meo di Citto legnaiuolo . . . sotto di xj daprile 1494

Incharichi

Sono obrigato a fare ogni a[n]no i[n]perpetuo uno uficio i[n] S lore[n]zo di fj. uno largo per vigore di lascio fatto per lionardo nostro padre

Et piu son obrigato a fare ogni [an]no un altro uficioin detta chiesa dj fj. due larghi per vigore del testamento fatto per Giuliano mio fratello come appare carta per Mano di Ser giova[n]ni di Maso di francescho

Tengho a pigione dalle Rede dantonio del palagio G[onfalone] vaio tre botteghe poste due nella via de servi e una nella via del Chastellacio delle quali pagho di pigione ciaschuno a[n]no i[n] tutto fj. xxi larghi di su [sugello] delle quali botteghe no [ne ho] appigionata una a Orsino di Nicholo di benintendi cierauiuolo della quale o di pigione fj. otto larg[hi] di so [sugello] la[n]no

etuna no appigionata a lore[n]zo di Domenico
di legnaiuolo paghane di pigione fj. diecj larg. dj.
50 la[n]no

...
Tochagli pella decima fj. otto sol. XIIIJ dj. XI

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1498
Decima, Campione Sto. No. 27 a c. 410-410^t e 411]

DOCUMENT 4

In dei nomine Amen	Existentibus Prudentissimis
Bonaiuto nicolaj bucj	Consulibus Consulibusdce
Donatus ser franceschi	artis pro tempore IIIJ men-
antanj	sibus init. die primo mensis
Christoforo masj corsj	septembris 1473
Michaele rinaldj de eu-	
genis	

Matricolati fuerunt matricolati videlicet . . .

...
Benedictus lionardi antonij scarpellator recognovit
matricolam dei lionardi sui patris pro civitate die XVIII
septembris 1473 pro civitate

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname,
Libro dei Matricole, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. 2 a c. 10^t]

NOTE

The Portate are self-explanatory. Giuliano and Bene-
detto are shown to have been prosperous by the consider-
able taxes of "fiorini 13 lib. 3 soldi 10" and "fiorini 8
sol. 14 denar 11" imposed in the Portata of 1480 and
1498 respectively.

BENOZZO GHOZZOLI

DOCUMENT 1

Al nome diddio fatta adj 27 di maggio 1433

Dinanzi avoi signorj uficialj del chatasto mostero da
pie ogni mio mobile e i[m]obile

una chasa posta nella via del fiore avilaro alabate di
chamoldoglj lanno lire tre e sol. 1 a primo chonfini mo-
ggenio [?] la vedovache fu di bartolo daghotino a se-
chondo betto di Zanobi a terzo mona mea di jacopo popolo
di santa maria verzana drento ale mure per mio abitare

Una chasetta posta nelavia delfiore piviere di santa maria
a verzaia drent[o] ale mure ad avilaro ala detta abate
e pagha lanno lire una e sol. cinque ed e v[u]ota

uno poderetto nel popolo di san cholonbano ala badia
a settimo ed e in dua pezzi istaiora sessantre vignia e
asieme . . .

debbo avere fiorini vensette duna vignia ve[n]dej a
ghozolo di lorenzo popolo di san cholonbano a tempo
danni dua prossimi chonvenghono

debbo dare perinsino a questo di fiorinj xx o circha di

mia chatastj e manchato perche no[n] ano potuto ripare
al pane che ha chontante boche

Yo sandro di lese pettinatore deta danni sessanta o
circha

la donna mia mona margherita deta dannj 64

Lese mio figliolo deta dannj 34 [in] farfetti

La donna di lese deta dannj 30 mea con quatro
figliuoli

il primo una fanciula deta dannj quattordici vettoria

il sechondo benozo deta danni dodicj

il terzo deta dannj diecj

il quarto giovanna deta dannj dua

una sirochia del detto sandro mona Simona donna fu
di giovanni

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di Santo Spirito, Gonfalone
Drago, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1433, Sto. Cod.
443 a c. 543]

DOCUMENT 2

I[n] nome di dio adj xxxj daghosto 1442

a dj cinquina sol. xv dj. vj aoro

dinanzj davoì signorj x [dieci] uficialj della chon-
servazione e aumentazione della graveza nuova del
chomune dj Firenze

Sandro di Lese scardafiore popolo di santa maria i[n]
verzaia drento alle mura quartiere di santo vispirito
ghonfalone dragho

Sustanze

una chasa posta i[n] detto popolo via del fiore da primo
e sechondo mona[n]gliola [Mona Angliola] di bartolo
dugho [di Ugo] da terzo benedetto di Zanobi del fiore
e per mio abitare

unpezo di terra di terra chon casa dallavoratore posta
nelpopolo di san cholonbano pivierj di settimo da primo
via da sechondo domenico di piero bertegli da terzo
domenico di maso del Chosea [?] da quarto sca maria
della schala . . .

bocche

Sandro dannj 76

Mona margherita sua donna danni 70

Lese di sandro lavatore di farfetti dani 42

benozo di lese i[n]para ad pingniere danni 20

domenico di lese ista al farferraio chp[n] niccho di
iacopo di annj 19

Jannanina dannj 10

Bernardo dannj 7

dette nel sechondo chatasto piu terra e questo perche
vendute di poi chome vi mostrero qui appresso

una vignja di staiora diecj vendej a due chontadinj del
popolo di San cholonbano e la detta vingnia e posta in
detto popolo . . .

epiu vendej un pezzo di terra chon vingnia i[n] tutto

staiora dodicj a domenicho dj maso del schala del detto popolo e piviere la detta retta posta in detto popolo

E piu vendej un pezzo di terra dj staiora diecj a bernardo di simone della ispallocca del polo [popolo] di San felice drento in firenze confini di detta terra . . .

La detta terra e vingnia o vendute per maritare una mia figliola e per vivere.

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1442, Sto. Cod. 613 a c. 526 e 526t]

DOCUMENT 3

Dinanzi da voj uficialj della graveza

Jo Sandro di lese ischardafiare popolo dj Santa maria i[n] verzano

drento alle mura quartiere di santo ispirito ghonfalone dragho

Sustanze

Una chasa posta i[n] detto popolo da vja larga del fiore da sechonda mona aghola dj bartolo dugho terzo benedetto dj zanobi per mio abitare

Uno pezo di tera chon chasa dalavoratore posta ne[1] popolo dj san cholonbano piviere di settimo . . .

Boche

Sandro di lese dannj 80

Mona margherita dannj 76

domenicho deta dannj 20 ista a scharfetaio

benozo dani 24

lananina danj 16

leonardo dannj 14

didiecina sol. 110

di cinquina sol. 4

di chatasto sol. 3

dj dispiacente sol. 6

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1446, Sto. Cod. No. 264]

Cod. 654 a c. 621 is virtually a duplicate except that after the name Benozo in the Bocche is "dipintore."

DOCUMENT 4

I omit the Portate of Lese for the years 1451 and 1457 as Benozzo is not mentioned although Domenico appears in the latter. Benozzo was away from Florence for the period.

DOCUMENT 5

Q Santo Spirito Ghonfalone Dragho

Lese di sandro disse nel primo chatasto in sandro di lese mio padre ebe di chatasto lib. 8 dj. 8

nel chatasto 1469 ebi di chatasto sol. 3

valsente ebi sol. 11 dj. tre

ventina ebi sol. 3

Beni

una chasa per mio abitare posta nella via del fiore nel popolo di sca maria in verzaia drent[o] alle mure . . .

unpezo di terra dj staiora 20 o circha chon una chasetta posta nel popolo di sco chololbano piviere di Settimo . . .

una chasa dove abitava benozo mio fratello posta nella via del chochomero che da primo via e sechondo giovanni da daniello a terzo Gusto coverelli . . . la detta chasa chonperai dallo spedale di San Pagholo

bocche

lese di sandro deta danni 72 e morto

benozo suo figliuolo danni 45 sta per istare a pisa

domenicho suo figliuolo danj 42

barolomea di domenicho 34

lena dona di benozo 29

giovannj figliolo di benozo 5

bartolomea di benozo 6

. di benozo 4

. di benozo 2

. figliolo di domenicho 10

. di

domenicho 8

filippo di domenicho 6

Nana di domenicho ani 3

Other names illegible as text is badly erased by water.

beni alienati

Nel chatasto di 1421 demo otto staiore di vigna nel piviere di settimo luogho detto stagnio vende . . .

nel 1438

vendej anicholo di cholonbano istaiora di vigna fj. 30 per mia bisogni insino a 1438 . . .

E piu vendej a domenicho di Maso del Choscia del popolo di sco cholonbano istaiora dodicj tra vigna e terra fj. quarantotto posta in detto popolo . . .

E piu vendej a bernardo di simone dello spaluca istaiora diecj di terra . . .

. . .

conposto per lgliuficiali fj. — sol. 4

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1470, Campione Sto. No. 910 a c. 5 e 5t]

DOCUMENT 6

Q di sco spirito G[onfalone] dragho

Lese di sandro di lese

disse nel primo chatasto in sandro di lese schardafiare

ebe di chatasto sol. 3

ebe di cinquina sol. 6 dj. 8

ebe di valsente sol. 11 dj. 10

Beni

una chasa per mio abitare posta nella via del fiore nel

pplo di sca maria inverzaia . . . la detta chase adavilaro per lib. 3 sol. 1 a[n]no dalla badia chamaldoli

Un pezo di te[r]ra di staiora 10 o circha chon una chasetta dallavoratore posta nel pplo di sco cholonbano piviere di settimo . . .

Il detto podere si chonpro da sca maria nuovo nel 1428 troverete nella mja portato chome fu istaiora 66 onne [ne ho] venduto istaiora 32 o circha per mia bisognj a piu persone chome dappie intenderete a piu persone

Incharichi

o debito cholla badia di chamaldoli pellavilaro della chasa dove abitiamo lib. 40

Bocche

Lese di sandro deta dannj	60 fj. 200
domenicho mio figliuolo dannj	30 fj. 200
Bartolomea mia donna danj e gravida	22 fj. 200
Benozo deta dannj	34 fj. —
bernardo deta dannj	20 fj. —
Questi due andarono cho[n] dio gia fa otto annj	

Beni alienati

Nel primo chatasto demo 8 staiora di vingna posta nel piviere dj settimo luogho detto istagnio . . . la detta vingna vendej a ghozolo di lorenzo del pplo di sco cholonbano . . . nel 1428 vendesj fj. 31 vendej a nicholo dj cholonbano istaiora 5 di vingne fj. 30 per mia bisognj insino nel 1438 . . .

E piu vendej a domenicho di piero bertelli del popolo di san cholonbano istaiora 5 di vingnia posta in detto luogho fj. 36 . . .

E piu vendej a domenicho di maso del chascia del pplo di sco cholonbano istaiora 12 tra vingna e tera fj. 48 posta in detto luogho . . . vendela nel 1441 . . .

E piu vendei a bernardo di simone dello spalucia del G[onfalone] ferza un pezo di terra di staiora 10 fj. 40 . . . nel 1443 composto per partito degliuficiali per ogni sue sustanzie i[n] sol. 4

Beni

Una chasa per nostro abitare posta nellavia del fiore nel popolo di sca maria i[n] verzaia . . .

unpezo di terra . . . posta nel popolo di sco cholonbano piviere di settimo . . .

Una chasa dovabitava [dove abitava] benozo posta nella via del chochomero da primo via a sechondo Giovanni di daniello a terzo Gusto choverelli la quale chasa o a pigione Bartolomeo baroncini per fj. 16 [?] lanno fj. 260

Una chasa i[n] via sca maria i[n] pisa nel popolo di sco simone nellaquale io abito cholla mia famiglia fj. —

Bocche

Benozo di lese da[n]nj	60
Mona lena sua donna danj	40

bartolomea sua figliuola danj	15 alla dote in sul monte 350
Giovanbatista va alla schuola a[n]nj	18
Girolamo va alabacho da[n]nj	13
francescho da[n]nj	11
alesso danni	7
Bernaba da[n]ni	3
Maria antonia	1 nona dote
domenicho di lese danni	56
Bartolommea mja donna da[n]nj	45
Sandro chericho dannj	20
margherita danni	16 nona dota
filippo annj	17
Nanina danni	14 nona dote
Nagia danni	13 nona dote
laldomina dannj	9 nona dote
Lisa danni	4 nona dote

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480, Campione Sto. No. 999 a c. 318]

DOCUMENT 7

Quartiere di santo spirito e ghonfalone del dragho coe

+ 1495 +

Benozo e fratelli e figliuolj di lese di sandro di lese del Domenicho popolo di santa maria in verzaia drento alle mura di firenze e nella via del fiore si trovano i benj e nominerano a pie e la graveza 1480 disson e sopradetti

una chasa per nostro abitare posta nellavia del fiore di firenze e nel popolo di santa Ma inverzaia . . . detta chasa pagha lanno davillaro alla badia dj chamaldolj dj. firenze lib. tre

un pezo di terra di staiora xxv incircha chon casa dallavoratore posto nel popolo dj san cholonbano piviere di settimo . . . afftano a meo di dabizio e a figliuoli di detto popolo per staia xvj di grano e lib. xvj e mezzo il vino coe barili xii

Somma a prima faccia dentratuta di questa fj. 14.12

somma tutte sue entrature fj. xxiii sol. vii-v larghi fj. 12.3.4. larghi

Tochagli perlla x [decima] fj. uno sol. iii dj. iii larghi

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1498 Decima, Sto. Cod. 8 a c. 219 e 219t]

DOCUMENT 8

Benozzo Gozzoli mccccxxiiij [See Note.]

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San Luca, Primo Registro]

DOCUMENT 9

MCCCCLXIJ

Benozo di lese dipintore sta apisa de dare per la grazia fatta ad 17 dj giugno 1472 sol. sei etc etc sol. 6

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 2 a c. 27^t]

NOTE

Little comment is needed as these Portate tell their own story. In the Portata of Lese in 1470 we are told that Benozzo is going to establish himself in Pisa. In the *Libro di Debiti e Crediti* of the *Compagnia di San Luca* he is there in 1472. In his own Portata of 1480 he declares a house in Pisa for himself and family.

In the *Primo Registro della Compagnia di San Luca* Benozzo's entry date of 1423 is an error. In his father's Portata of 1442 he is twenty years old and learning to paint.

BICCI DI LORENZO DI BICCI AND NERI DI BICCI

DOCUMENT 1

Q So Ispo [Ispirito] ghonfalone dragho

Benj e mobilj di bicci dj lorenzo dj bicci dipintore

Ebe di chatasto nel primo sol. 7

Ebe di decina sol. 60

O [ho] di dispiacente sol. 9

beni

Un podere posto nel chomune dj ghanghalandi piviere di signa podesteria della lastra a malmontela i[n] luogho chiamato chastello di ghanghalandi chon chasa da oste e dalavoratore e chonuno [chon uno] altro cho[n] solcie apresso con tera lavoratia e ulivj e vgnie e boscho e sodo diviso i[n] molte parti chon sua vochabolj e chonfinj alla magior parte . . .

Jo ten in chasa una fanciula figliuola che fu dantonja dj iacopo ispeziale da firenze a estimo nel popolo dj so ronbolo a settimo laquale e mia nipote figliuola dj mjo figliuolo e per sue spese no sofinto uno suo poderazo posto i[n] detto luogho i[n] suso quale tengho dj mio uno bue di fj. 7

O tre quarti duna chasa posta i[n] chamaldolj i[n] via So Salvatore e qualj $\frac{3}{4}$ [tre quarti] tengho un quarto per lla dote di mona berta mja donnaper fj. 50 e laltro quarto a preso chome rede della sua madre laltro quarto a preso per rede mona vagia donna del chole malischalcho dj detto popolo e ghonfalone e quartiere . . .

Tochane [ne tocca] a me per tre quarti lib. 32 sol. 5 istavi a pigione ghuariante di borghanni tessa drapi . . .

una cha[sa] i[n] chamaldolj posta i[n] via so Salvatore la quale tegniamo e usiamo per nostra bothega ad

pigniere chonperanno dalla bate dj chamaldolj piu tempo fa . . .

isto a pigione inuna [in una] chasa i[n] via chiara i[n] detto quartiere e popolo e ghonfalone la quale chasa e della chonpagnia dj so ispirito dello ispirito santo della quale pagho lanno fj. 14 onne [ne ho] paghata la pigione per annj 5 i quali danarj yo a chatastj a chosto per no potere fare altro

Boche

Bicci detto dannj 78

benedetta sua donna danni 60

Neri mio figliuolo dannj 28

Nanina donna dj nerj dannj 17

Lorenzo figliuolo dj nerj 2

Tegniamo una fanciulla per dio dannj 15 ebi ella [l'ho] maritare

Tegniamo quella mia nipote chome di Neri detto dannj 16

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di Santo Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1446, Sto. Cod. 654 a c. 533]

DOCUMENT 2

Al nome dj dio adj 13 daghosto 1451

Quart so ispo [ispirito] Go dragho

Sustanza di Biccj di lorenzo dj bicci dipintore el primo chatasto disse in me e propio ebi di decima nuova ne lanno 1447 sol. 11 dj. 4

e quali sgravi restai i[n] sol. 8 dj. 7

E chi grazia et per none chatero o servare la legnasono rimasto nella medesima graveza di sol. 8 dj. 7 e chosi mi truovo

O tre quarti duna chasa e posta i[n] detto quartiere e ghonfalone nel popolo di So friano Via So Salvatore . . .

una chasetta posta i[n] detta via e popolo laquale tegniamo a uso di nostra bottega avemolo i[n] pahamento per lavoro fatto da mia arte dalla bate bastiano abate dj Chamaldolj

Uno poderuzo cho[n] due chasette una dalavoratore e da oste posto nel chomune dj ghanghalandi e piviere di ghorghol

2 pezi di tea e posta nel piano della lastra chomune detto e piviere e popolo So martino i[n] detto chomune di staiora 5 luna i[n] tutto istaiora diecj coe x i[n] luogho chiamato lisola . . .

Isto a pigione i[n] nuna chasa che della conpagnia del ispirito santo di So ispirito i[n] via chiara alla choculia [?] i[n] detto popolo e ghonfalone o paghato la pigione per insino a di primo di novembre 1455

Jo tengho uno poderuzo a fitto che dellerede dantonio diachopo ispeziale e So friano e pagho di fitto lib. 56 e

posto nel chomune e pviere di settimo e popolo So conbolo
e per paghamento di detto fitto

Jo bicci no traficho ne danari ne roba chome o detto
sono dipintore e truovomi deta danni 82 o piu

la benedetta mia donna dannj 65

Neri mio figliuolo dipintore dannj 31

lorenzo figliuolo di nerj danni 6

antonjo figliuolo di nerj dani 5

Truovomi debitore abatuto il dare cholavere fj. 100

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al
Catasto 1451, Sto. Cod. 924 a c. 47, 47^t e 48]

The Campione gives the tax fj. 3 sol. 19 dj. 6.

DOCUMENT 3

Quartiere Sto Spirito Go dragho adi vi daghosto 1469

Neri di bicci di lorenzo di bicci dipintore Go dragho

El primo chatasto delanno 1427 disse in bicci mio padre
sol. —

ebi di valsente lanno 1451 disse in bicci detto fj. sol.
10 d. 4

Ebi di chatasto lanno 1455 disse i[n] me bicci fj. — sol.
4 di. —

Ebi di valsente lanno 1465 disse i[n] me neri dibicci
fj. sol. 17

Jo due mia figliuoli chome pelle boche lorenzo e an-
tonio e sono compagni di salvestro di Ser iachopo salvestri
Go[nfalone] Chiavi . . .

E sono e sopradetti lorenzo e antonio mia figliuoli

uno botegino overo parte di bottegha . . .

paghami lanno dj pigione a detto aghostino fj . . .

posto in merchato nuovo . . .

Tengho una chasa a pigione per mio abitare cholla mia
famiglia posta i[n] via chiara alla Choculia Go dragho
qu[artiere] so ispo [ispirito] da monosa [mona osa]
donna fu di iachopo . . .

Bocche

Nerj di biccj dannj 51

Ma gho stanza mia do[n]na 46

Lorenzo mio figliuolo danni 22

Antonio mio figliuolo danni 20

Bicci mio figliuolo danni 11

Nanina mia figliuola danni 3

. . .

Conposto pegliuficialj in chatasto i[n] fj. sol. xvii
fj. — sol. 17

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1469,
Campione Sto. Cod. 910 a c. 217^t, 218, 218^t]

This very long and wordy Portata I have cut drastically.

DOCUMENT 4

Bicci di lorenzo bicci dipintore MCCCCXVIIIJ

. . .

Neri del Bicci di lorenzo dipintore MCCCCXVIIIJ

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San
Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27 Cod. 1]

DOCUMENT 5

MCCCCCLXXII

Neri di bicci di lorenzo bicci dipintore i[n] porta rossa
de dare per tutto giugno 1472 sol. vj

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-
1520, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 2 a c. 163^t]

NOTE

Of note in these Portate is the erroneous date of 1429
as the date of Neri's entrance into the *Compagnia di San
Luca*. The Portata of Bicci gives his age as thirty-six.

COSIMO ROSSELLI

DOCUMENT I

Quart S Gi + Yhs +

Iachopo fratelli e figliuoli di lorenzo di filippo

Chosimo Roseli maestro di murare e primo chatasto

Lorenzo dise lorenzo di filippo nostro padre

Francescho

E primo chatasto sol. 3

E di cinquina sol. 15

E di valsente fj. 5 sol. 1 d. 2

Una chasa per nostro abitare per noi e per le nostre
famiglie posta nella via del Chochomero che da primo via
½ salvestro di michele terzo louto di di macinghi la detta
chasa vene da nostro chatasto di nicholo de macinghi
chera uno champo chosto fj. 105 dela[n]no 1430

una chasa posta nel popolo di santo istefano a mont
Schale in val de Grevia . . . la detta chasa chonperai da
sopradesso nanni di giorgio da monte schala chosto fj. 12

E piu adimio giovanni di lorenzo benci . . . fj. 90cioe
fj. 90 . . . vendemo aleso di benedetto lapacmi . . .

E piu abiamo fj. 150 doro equal danari tiene in deposito
chimenti di lorenzo dipintore . . . venduti a detto aleso

. . .

E piu mi truovo isuno [in su uno] traficho coe una
bottega di fornace poste a san piero gattolino . . . pag-
iamo lanno di pigione . . . fj. 21

Jo sto in una chasa di giovanni di giorgio Uqchi isula
piazza di Sanmarcho G[onfalone] drago confinari da
primo via ½ lospedale di lemo terzo detti e pago lanno di
pigione fj. doro

debitori della nostra propiata di noi fratelli

Michele di pipo e figliuoli lib. 60

Istefano di Jachopo Rosel. lib. 42

Santa Maria nuova lib. 30

E. piu abbiamo debito noi 4 fratelli in piu persone di pichole some lib. 200 chome vi mostrerano

Beni alienati

Sold 2 houses, one for fj. 120, the other for fj. 240; also 6 pieces of land, poderi or vineyards, for fj. 60, fj. 58, fj. 33, fj. 45, fj. 23, and fj. 400.

Boche

Jachopo di lorenzo di filippo dani 32

Ma Tomasa mia donna dani 26

asente Chosimo mio fratello dani 18

Lorenzo di lorenzo mio fratello dani 12

francescho mio fratello dani 9

Iusamia mia sorochia dani 11

la nicholosa mia figliuola dani 6

la francescha mia figliuola di jachopo dani 2

lorenzo figliuolo di Jachopo mesi 6

Ma nana nostra matrigna dani 38

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Drago, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457, Sto. Cod. 827 a c. 266, 266t e 267]

The Campione (autograph) No. 825 a c. 345, 345t e 346 gives the tax "coposto in sol. sei."

DOCUMENT 2

Q S G ghonfalone drago

Jacho[po] fratelli e figliuoli di lorenzo di filippo
chosimi rossegi maestro di murare

Lorenzo
francescho

disse el primo chatasto del 1427 in lorenzo di filippo
Mo [maestro] di murare fu chonposto in sol. tre fj. — sol. tre

El velsente del 1451 disse figliuoli erede di lorenzo
rossegi ebbono fiorinj cinque sol. uno d. due fj. 5 sol. 1 di. 2

El chatasto 1457 disse in detto iaco chosimo lorenzo
e franco ebbono sol. sei — fj. — sol. 6

La ventina del 1468 disse in detto jaco chosimo lorenzo
et francescho ebbono sol. sette dj. cinque fj. — sol. 7 d. 5

Sustenze

una chasa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di san
marcho di fire[n]ze in su detta piazza chonfini a primo
detta piazza a sechondo e terzo lo spedale delelmo a $\frac{1}{4}$
bonaiuto diacopo sarto . . . chonperato . . . fj. 128 $\frac{1}{2}$

Una chasa posta nella via del chochomero . . . la
quale e apigionata a piero di ligj chalderaio per pregio di
fj. 9 lanno fj. 9

una chasa posta nel popolo di santo stefano a mu[n]te
schalli in val di greve . . . tiella a pigione michele di
stefano . . . per fj. 1 fj. 1 dj.

Bocche

Jaco di lorenzo di filippo rossegi deta danni 44 fj. 200

Mona tomasa mia donna deta danni 38 fj. 200

Francescha nostra figliuola deta danni 12 fj. 200

Lorenzo nostro figliuolo deta danni 11 fj. 200

Chosimo nostro fratello deta danni 24 fj. 200

Francescho mio fratello deta danni 21 fj. 200

Mona nana nostra matrigna deta danni 50 fj. 200

Beni alienati

Reports sales, some already reported in previous Portata, namely: a podere for fj. 60; a house for fj. 120; a piece of land for fj. 38; a piece of land for fj. 58; a piece of land for fj. 45; a vineyard for fj. 25; a house for fj. 240; and a podere for fj. 400.

Incharichi

Tegnamo una chasa a pigione da falchonieri di francescho cialamegli per fiorini sette lanno per nostro abitare posta in sulla piazza di santa maria in chanpo di firenze fj. 7

. . .

Chonposto . . . in sold otto

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1469, Campione Sto. No. 926 a c. 6 e 6t]

DOCUMENT 3

Q So G dragho

Cosimo figliuoli che furono di lorenzo di filippini
francescho disse el chatasto del 1470 Jachopo cosimo
lore[n]zo francescho

avemo di chatasto sol. 6 d. 1 lib. 1 piccioli ne so[pra]
detti

Sustanza

una chasetta nella quale abita la brigata di francescho
mio fratello . . . e damene di pigione fj. 19 lanno . . .

unachasa chon un pocho dorto posta nel popolo di santo
michele a castello piviere santo stefano in pane

un pezzo di terra vigniata vecchia . . . di staiora 5 i[n]
circha posta in detto popolo di sopra . . . rende ogni anno
vino barili 4 fj. 41

un pezo di terra vigniata di staiora 11 i[n] circhaposta
nel polo [popolo] di san martino a sesto luogo detto
allaqua ritrosa . . . conperalo da nofri di giovannj ron-
dinegli . . . sotto di 4 di dicembre 1475 chonperata di
danari di mia dote chosta fj. 24 lavorala domenicho di
linuccio sopradeto rende lanno in parte vino barili 4 fj.
24

Beni alienati

una chasa posta i[n] sulla piazza di santo marchio di
firenze nella quale abitava Jachopo nostro fratello lanno
di [14]70 alla ocupare la donna di detto jachopo per sua
dote dopo la morte del detto iachopo

una chasa posta nel chastello di monte fichalli popolo
santo istefano la quale vendemo . . . sotto di 25 daghosto
1472 per pregio di fj. 24 sol. 8

Rendemi fj. 1 lanno

Bocche

Chosimo deta danni 42 e dipintore in chasa

Francescho deta danni 33 senza aviamiento

Ma Nana sua madre danni 58 e mia matrigna

Ma pippa sua madre dannj 98 e ciecha

Ma caterina do[n]na di chosimo deta danni 28

Ma lesandra do[n]na di francescho deta da[n]ni 27

Margherita figliuola di francescho da[n]ni 5 senza
dote

lesandro di francescho danj 4

ginevra di francescho deta 1 senza dote

guliano di chosimo no[n] legitimo 9 anni

Incharichi

una chasa posta nel popolo di santa maria i[n] canpo
la quale e degleredi di falchoniere di Ser francescho
cenamegli che da primo vja da ij francescho di gentile
bisdomini terzo $\frac{1}{4}$ la chiesa detta quinto la piazza di detta
chiesa nella quale jo cosimo tengho a pigione da sopradetto
per mio abitare danne lanno di pigione fj. dieci . . .

chonposto fj. — lib. 1.9.0

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480,
Campione Sto. 1018 a c. 262, 262t e 263]

DOCUMENT 4

Q So Giovanni Ge dragho 1495

Cosimo figliuoli che furono di lorenzo di filip-
francescho po maestro disse la graveza del 1480

A questo medesimo modo popolo di santo anbruogio

Le sustanze son queste

una chasa posta nel popolo di santo ambruogio di
Firenze conperata dal detto monasterio di sco anbruogio
per pregio di fj. dugento cinquanta doro larghi
co[n]finata da primo via secondo detto monasterio terzo
 $\frac{1}{4}$ beni e monasterio di santa verdianadi firenze . . .
sotto di 10 di febraio 1483 la quale chasa e a mia vita e
della donna mia di poi ritorna torna [*sic*] a detto monas-
terio . . .

Una chasa cho[n] un pezzo dorto di staiera 3 a corda
in circha posta nel popolo di sco michele a castello piviere
di santo stefano in pane . . .

Yield in grain and wine fj. 8.

un pezo di terra vigniata posta nel detto popolo di
staiera 5 in circha a corda . . .

Yield in wine fj. 2.

un pezo di terra di staiera 4 posto nel popolo di sco
martino . . .

Yield in grain fj. 1.13.8.

un pezo dorto posto nel popolo di sancto lorenzo di
firenze in via chiamata la porticciulo . . . costo fj. 80
larghi . . . sotto di 22 di gjugno 1494 per suo abitare
quando finita sara . . .

beni alienati

una chasa posta nella via del chomero [chochomero]
cho[n] un casolare dallato . . . venduto . . . sotto di
6 di luglio 1483 per fiorini quattro cento 50 carta fatta
per mano di ser Domenicho bocchiantj in due partite cioe
fj. 350 la cha-sa e fj. 90 e chasolare

un podere posto nel popolo di sco piero in palcho piviere
di ripoli . . . venduto . . . per fj. 410 sotto di 19 da
rile 1494

Incharichi

Francescho sopradetto sta a chasa nel popolo di san
giorgio Gonfalone schala a pigione e dela chasa di
bartolomeo dangnolo Tucci per fj. 15 larghi . . . pagha
fj. 18 larghi

cosimo tengho a pigione una bottegha di bartolomeo
da sa[n]minjato sotto la chasa di detto bartolomeo per
fj. 4 lanno per dipintore

beni aquisati di poi la detta scritta

un pezo di terra vingniata di staiera 31 incirca posto
nel popolo di sco martino a brozi luogho detto a serticelli
overo doghaia . . . la quale si conpero per francescho
di lore[n]zo sopradetto dallerede di cristofano di
Giovanni Spini . . . sotto di di [*sic*] setembre 1495 per
pregio di fj. 247 di sugello re[n]de in barte barili vino
barilj 40 fj. 18.12

Tochagli per la decima fj. tre sol. vi di. ii doro larghi

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1498
Decima, Campione Sto. No. 29 a c. 323 e 323t]

DOCUMENT 5

Cosimis laurentij filippi de rossellis pittor recognovit
matricolam dcj laurentij eius patris die xxx decnbris 1465

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname,
Libro delle Matricole, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. a c. 126t]

DOCUMENT 6

MCCCCLXXIJ

Chosimo di lorenzo rosseglij dipintore a santa maria
i[n] chanpo de dare per la grazia fatta a di 17 di giugno
1472 dogni debito avesse cho[n] luogho perinsino a di
primo di luglio 1472 . . . lib. — sol. 6

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di
S. Luca, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Arti 27,
Cod. 2 a c. 34]

NOTE

According to the Portate, in 1480 Cosimo lived and painted in a house in the Popolo di Santa Maria in Campo. In 1498 he lived in a house in the Popolo di Sant' Ambrogio and his *bottega* was in the Popolo di San Giorgio across the Arno, under his brother Francesco's home, and he paid 4 florins a year for it. The Portate show him to be in comfortable circumstances. It should be noted that he joined the Guild of the Masters of Stone and Wood as a painter. As Document 6 shows, he was a member of the *Compagnia di San Luca* and doubtless joined the Guild of Physicians and Chemists. His name does not appear in the *Primo Registro della Compagnia di San Luca* — another error in this Register.

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

DOCUMENT 1

churrado di dosso bighordi e figliuolj, Qe So Go Ghon-
falone liondoro non ebj nulla nel chatasto 1427

ho di cinquina sol. vj dj. viij

ho di valsente fj. 2 sol. viij dj. 8

Sustanze

Una chasa chon palchi sale chamere volta corte e altri
edifici chon una chaseta dirietro posta nel popolo di sco
lorenzo di firenze e nelavia dellariento chonfinata . . .
la detta chasa dinazi mi pervenne per redita abintastato di
mona sandra mia madre ella chasetta dirietro conperai da
mona benedetta dj nicholo dj gierj e da mona agniesa
figluola fu e dona dantonio barbiere per pregio di
fj. 30 . . .

uno poderetto cho[n]chasa dallavoratore e tterre la-
voratie vigniate boschate posto nel popolo di sco martino a
schandicj piviere di grocholj luogho detto bioncigliano
. . . il qual pigliamo per sententia data per la churia del
podesta dj firenze

Rende lanno

fj. 122.17.2

Debitori

da derajuti diachopo alsipolcro lavatore di guido
boncianj lib. 20

da nicholo dj bastiano delle grillande o avere lib. 180

dantonio di chorso lavoratore di pierotto dj nofrj cenini
lib. 30

da piero di bartolo di chione anesso aluficio populli
lib. 22

dagirolamo di matteo cocchiere famiglio di messer
agniole lib. 8

da guglielmo di giovannj lib. 20 lib. venti

dantonio griseglj tesse drappi addare lib. 8

da andrea palavecchi e frateglj lavoratori di nicj chol
giovannj anno addare lib. 16

e in piu partite da altre persone o avere lib. 20

Creditori

Chardinale bulletta a avere fj. 14 sono duna pigione
di bottegga i[n] borgho sallorenzo dj fj. 12 lanno fj. 60

Tochaglj anno avere lib. dicotto lib. 18

lorenzo di giovanni rosaiuolo lib. 19

rede di bartolomeo dj masino di pisa a avere lib. 130

francescho tondini choregaio aavere lib. 40

stefano lib. quatordicj lib. 14

simone del lib. 13

cennj dj martello stannaiuolo lib. 44

bocche

Currado sopradetto deta danni 77 fj. 200

Giovannj suo figluolo deta da[n]ni 41 fj. 200

antonio suo figluolo deta dannj 39 fj. 200

Tom[m]aso suo figluolo deta dannj 35 fj. 200

Mona chosa donna di detto giovanni danj 30 fj. 200

anbruogio figluolo di detto giova[n]nj danj le fj. 200

chaterina figluola di detto giova[n]nj dannj 4 fj. 200

bighordo figluolo di detto giovanj da[n]nj 2 fj. 200

Donna antonia donna di detto to[m]maso danj
28 fj. 200

domenicho figluolo di detto to[m]maso deta danj
9 fj. 200

allesandra figluola di detto to[m]maso deta anni
7 fj. 200

davit figluo[lo] di detto to[m]maso deta annj 6 fj. 200

dianora figluola dj detto to[m]maso deta annj
3 fj. 200

Giovanbatista figluolo di detto to[m]maso deta anj
1 fj. 200

Beni alienatj

una chasa co[n] palchj sale chamere terreno orto
e altrj [e]difici posto

co[n] sua vochaboli e chonfinj chomperammola da
michele darrosso [da rosso] chondinerglj . . . per pregio
dj fj. 55 laquale poj vendemo a ppipo [a pipo] dj
domenicho della pozzanghera charta per mano di ser . . .

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone
Leon d'Oro, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457,
Cod. No. 820 No. 58]

DOCUMENT 2

Q S G ghonfalone liono doro

churrado di dosso di churrado bighordi e figliuoli nel
chatasto 1427

churrado detto nel valsente 1427

c. 287

valsente 1451

fj. — sol. 3

fj. 2 sol. 9 dj. 5

Sustanze

Una chasa posta nella via dellariento pplo [popolo] so
lorenzo da prima detta via ij Ser antonio di salamone iij

mariotto di berto iiij maso di bongni strozzi la dettacha
mi pervenne [see previous Portata for details]

uno poderetto [ditto] fj. 10.6

una parte duna chasa al pozo toscanellj per nostro
abitare da primo via ij lanberto del boghassa da 4 friolice
[?] pitti da 5 chiassi ella [e la] detta fj. 171

una chasetta chon un pocho di terra posta nel pplo
della pivere di cecina luogho detto evercina vecchia . . .

17 pezzi di terra ulivata posto nel popolo di s cristofano
anciano piviere di grocholj luogho detto chiusura

un pezo di terra posto in detto pplo luogho detto
barciello . . . e qualj ebbe i[n] dota tomaso mio figliuolo
per istima di fj. 160 fj. 160

un pocho di terra i[n] detto pplo . . . chomperollo
la dona di tomaso per fj. 10

Tengho a pigione una bottega i[n] sulchanto dj
mercato no [nuovo] dal saggio dellarte del chanbio done
lano lib. 10

bocche

churrado di dosso deta dannj 89

giovannj mio figliuolo deta annj 52

Antonio mio figliuolo deta annj 50

tomaso mio figliuolo deta annj 46

Ma chaterina mia nuora deta dannj 45

Ma bartolomea mia nuora deta dannj 26

Ma antonia mia nuora deta dannj 30

Ambruogio mio nipote deta annj 23

bighordo mio nipote deta annj 13

domenicho mio nipote deta annj 20

davitti mio nipote deta danj 17

benedetto mio nipote deta annj 10

giovambatista deta dannj 3

bocche 13 fj. 2600

. . .
Chonposto per partito degliuficialj i[n] sol. sej.
fj. — sol. 6

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1470,
Campione Sto. No. 925 a c. 382]

DOCUMENT 3

The text of this Portata badly erased.

Tomaso di leonardo di Dosso bighordi sensale
abita nel quartiere di san giovanni e nel popolo di
sallorenzo

E prestanziato nelo ghonfalone delleone doro
ebbi di chatasto lanno 1470 i[n] nome di Currado di
Dosso bighordi e figliuoli i[n] detto i[n] detto [sic]
ghonfalone e ebbe per composizione per partito sol. 6
sol. 6

Ebe di sesto lib. 1 sol. 1.8

+ Sustanze

una chasa chon tutti sua abituri posta i[n] fire[n]ze

nel polo [popolo] sopradetto e nela via dellariento [see
previous Portata for other details] . . . la quale comperai
da detto mariotto fj. 45 . . . sotto di 12 di settenbre
1477 per mio abitare la quale ci molesta detta Ma bar-
tolomea per vigore di dota

Un mezo poderuzo cho[n] meza chasa dallavoratore
posta pplo di samartino a scandicj piviere di grocholi
luogho detto bocigliano . . . dattasi nel 1470 achasa
al pozo toscanellj la quale era piatita e chonvinsita
domenicho pagni non lavemo per dota da giovanni mio
fratello . . .

una chasette chon pocho di terra posta a cecina . . .
ij pezi di terra chon ulivi e chavoze i[n]torno pplo a
luciano piviere di grocholi luno chusura laltro livello

Jncharichi

Il poderuzo di scandicj e il poderuzo di cecina lascio
antonia mio fratello a domenicho davitti benedetto mia
figluoli allinea maschulina e manchando richagiono a
santa maria nuova o affare ognan[o] ufficio a santa maria
nuova d. lib. 6 . . . lascio antonio per testame[n]to

o a dare a anbruogio di giova[n]nj mio nipote fj. 60
sono per resto della dota della madre

Son debitore dj fj. 60 per la dota confetta i[n]
questanno alla lesandramia figliuola di domenicho di piero
mellinj di fj. 20 l [larghi]

a bacio delvantagio fj. 20 lj.

a presto de vecchietj. fj. 10 l.

al proposto d'ognissanti fj. 10 l.

oadare arede di bartolomeo circha fj. 50

Bocche

Tomaso di churrado annj 57

Ma antonia sua dona a[n]nj 44 e i[n]ferma

domenicho mio figliuolo a[n]nj 31 e dipintore nona
luogho fermo³

Ma ghostanza sua do[n]na anni 19

davitti mio figliuolo anni 20 aiuta a detto domenicho

benedetto mio figliuolo anj 22 era miniatore lascia larte

a perduto un occhio ed allaltro si medicina quand puo
adsegnare per dipingere non istettono maj a dipingere
stavano allorafo

giovambatista mio figliuolo 14 va allabacho

allasandra mia figliuola annj 5 a di dote in sul monte
fatta i[n] questo a[n]no fj. 330 larghi

Ma maria mia serva a[n]nj 70 per ghoverno di mia
do[n]ne

adi chatsto sol. 6

fj. 1 sol. 110 dj. 5

Tochagli di gravezza

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480,
Campione Sto. No. 1017 a c. 573 e 573²]

3. The Codex of Monte Comune, which has supplied part of the
erased text, states "dipintore e qui alla nostra bottega."

DOCUMENT 4

Q di santo Giovannj G[onfalone] Leo doro

Rede di domenicho dj tomaso dj churado dighordi del pplo di santa maria del fiore disselagreveza della schala jn chamerata lanno 1481 in tomaso di churado bighordi padre del sopradetto domenicho e in detto ghonfalone

Sustanze

Staiora ottanta incircha di terra duno podere e senza chasa posta nel chontado dj prato alla pieve di sangiusto luogho detto

Rende la mia in parte . . . fj. 35.7.4

un poderetto chon chasa dalavoratore edaoste cho[n] terra lavoratia vigniata e ulivata posto nel piviere di grocholi pplo di san cristofano a viciano . . .

Rende la mia in parte . . . fi. 22.12

fj. 37.19.4

non tegniamo chasa a pigione e si torniamo jn chasa dj davitte dj tomaso dj churado dipintore nostro zio e e abita nel pplo di santa liperata

Soma tutta sua entratura fj. cinquantazette sol. xviii dan. iij uno testa fj. 48.6.2 larghi

Tochagli pella decima fj. quattro sol. xvj di. vii fj. 4.16.8

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1498 Decima, Campione Sto. No. 28 a c. 385]

DOCUMENT 5

Domenico di tomaso bighordi del grilandaio [no date]

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 1]

DOCUMENT 6

MCCCCLXXIJ

Domenico di tomaso del grilandaio dipintore a santa maria i[n] campo de dare . . . sol. 6

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 2 a c. 47t]

DOCUMENT 7

MCCCCLXIJ

Domenico di tomaso del grilandaio dipintore de dare per tutto giugno 1472 sol. sej plla grazia fatta dogni debito avesse chollarte perinsino adj primo di luglio 1472 i[n] questo a c. 2 lib.—sol. 16

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 2 a c. 47t]

DOCUMENT 8

+ YHS + MCCCCLIJ

Domenicho dj tomaso di churado

[Arch. *idem*, Compagnie Soppresse, Compagnia di San Paolo, Sto. Comp. Sopp. PI, No. 1582 No. 5]

DOCUMENT 9

+ YHS + MCCCCLXXIJ

Domenicho di Tomaso di churado di dosso entro [i]sino adj 12 di magio 1470 morj adj 11 dagosto 1493 a quaderno c 33

[Arch. Comp. *idem*, Libro Primo Grande 1472, Sto. Comp. Sopp. PI, Filza 159 c a c. 138]

DOCUMENT 10

Governatori

Uficialj

+ YHS + MCCCCLXXVJ

. . .

Infermieri

. . .

. . .

Domenicho di Tomaso Bighordi

[Arch. Comp. e Sopp. *idem*, Filza *idem* a c. 162t]

NOTE

These Portate, if carefully read, seem to call for very little comment. Domenico is listed in the *Primo Registro della Compagnia di San Luca* but without a date. However, as he has an account in the *Libro di Debiti e Crediti* of the *Compagnia* it shows that he was admitted by, or a little before, 1472. It should also be noted that he entered the *Compagnia di San Paolo* of the sculptors.

DOMENICO VENEZIANO

DOCUMENT 1

+ Mo [Maestro] domenico di Bartolomeo da venigia de dare fj. cien-to sej. lib. v sol. vii per li levatj dallibro vecchio de debijt sto h a c. 255 fj. 1 vj lib.

In the margin: Se restaa addare son perdute che non lascio nulla

Written after his death: Costuj e il dipintore che dipignie la capella grande di san gidio [Egidio]

E de dare a dj primo di giugno 1445 fj. diecj deposto daverre ad quaderne di chassa sto 66 a c. 190 fj. x lib.

[Arch. *idem*, Archivio di Santa Maria Nuova, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1443-1490, Sto. Cod. 5818 a c. Iiijt]

DOCUMENT 2

Domenico di bartolomeo [no date]

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 1]

DOCUMENT 3

Dmcho [Domenicho] Veneziano Ro [Riposto] i[n] So piero gattolino

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Medici e Speciali, Libro dei Morti, Sto. Arti 6, Cod. 245 a c. 23]

NOTE

Very little is known about this painter and, in spite of much searching, I have been able to find little or nothing about him.

Although he lived for years in Florence from 1438, died and was buried there in 1461, he made no Portata. As in the case of Andrea del Castagno, this meant that he had never assumed citizenship in Florence but remained a citizen of Venice and hence was known and buried as Domenico Veneziano.

Some time ago I was in Venice and went hopefully to the *Archivio di Stato* for information. I was told, to my surprise, there were no manuscripts relating to the painters of the fifteenth century, not even a list of them. Hence, so far as art is concerned, the *Archivio* presents a blank for the fifteenth century, although beginning with 1500 it is rich in manuscripts relating to art.

The Santa Maria Nuova document I believe to be new, particularly as it gives a possible reason why Domenico ceased working there. The notary's note shows that he had not paid his debts to the Ospedale, so he may perhaps have been asked to stop work.

FILIPPINO LIPPI

DOCUMENT 1

Q S G[iovanni] Gonfalone Vaio

Filippo di filippo di tomaso Lippi dipintore cittadino fiorentino e no me dettj alla graveza delano 1480 perche ero fuorj di firenze e non eby modo di potermi dare. E mia possati andavano pel G[onfalone] del dragho So. Spjrjto

Una casa per mio abitare posta nela via degliagnoli de po[po]lo di San michele bisdomini da prima via ½ matteo di datiere rosi ⅓ andrea dugolino pelcaio ¼ Cosimo di fiorini la quale casa conperaj dal priore e chonvento deglaognoli di firenze deto pregio di fj. 300 di Sglo [suggello] Rogato Ser Giovannjdi Ser Marcho da romena soro di 5 di genaio 1457

Una caseta posta in prato enl [e nel] po [popolo] dela pieve di prato luogo deto via dele tre gone . . . la quale caseta tiene a pigione Michele di Va[n]nivotierini da Prato e dane di pigione lanno lib. x come apare per una iscrita privata

Una chasolare apichata con deta caseta . . . el quale casolare conperai da giovannj di lorenzo centelini pe[r] pregio di fj. 30 carta per mano di Ser Giovanni di Ser marcho da romena sotto di 16 di dicembre 1485 el quale casolare vo [vi ho] achoncio una camera la quale vabita dentro mia madre

Tochagli per decima fj.—sol. iij dj. IIIJ oro—fj.—sol. 3.4

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Vaio, Portata al Catasto 1498, Campione Sto. 34 a c. 434]

DOCUMENT 2

Filippo di Filippi dipintore [no date]

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27, No. 1]

DOCUMENT 3

MCCCCLXXIJ

Filippo di filippo da prato dipintore con sandro di boticelo de dare per tutto giugno 1472 sol. vi . . .

1482

Filippo di frate filippo de dare sol. diecj a dj 25 di novembre

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-1520, Sto. Arti 27, No. 2 a c. 56t]

DOCUMENT 4

MCCCCLXXIJ

1503

Filippo di filippo . . .

Mori addi 18 daprile 1504 e sotterrassi i[n] san michele Disdomini idio gli perdoni

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. *idem*, a c. 57]

DOCUMENT 5

+ YHS + MCCCCLXXX

Filippo di filippo dipintore entro a dj xviiij daghosto 1481 Riposto adj 23 daprile 1503 [in] questo c 102 No. 289

+ YHS + MA

Filippo di filippi dipintore n° 329 fu raso adj 23 daprile 1503 per partito gienerale in quaderno c. 5

[Arch. *idem*, Compagnie Soppresse, Compagnia di San Paolo, Libro Primo Grande 1472, Sto. Comp. Sopp. PI, Filza 1591 c a c.]

NOTE

Every effort was made to find Portate made for, or by, Filippino in 1480 and prior to that date but without success. Either he referred in his Portata of 1498 to the wrong Gonfalone for a Portata made for him in that year, or his failure to name any relatives accounts for it. It will be observed that he not only joined the *Compagnia di San Luca* but also the *Compagnia di San Paolo*. I found that he made a will in 1495, but the register to which it referred, and which would have given all the information, is missing.

FILIPPO DI SER BRUNELLESKO

DOCUMENT 1

al nome di dio amen adj XIJ di luglio MCCCCXVIJ

Reverendissimi e signori Uficialj del chatasto questi sono i benj di filippo di Ser brunellesco

jn prima una chasa e maserizie posta nel popolo di Santo Michele bertoldj ghonfalone drago Santo ghiovannj nella quale yo abito da primo via da sechondo la chasa di nani di chiarozo degl agli da terzo e quarto i figliuolj di bindo deglaglj

Anchora o insul monte chomune ischgritti fj Mille quatro cento cindicj chole paghe dal [14]15 al 19 a miglieria [6000] fj 66 sol. 5 e dal dicenove al [15800] fj 66 sol. 4

Anchora insulmonte di pisa fiorinj quattro cento ventj sol. quatordici colle paghe sostenute dal [14]15 al 17 [13300] fj 25 sol. 12 e dal [14]17 al 23 [42000] fj. 42

Anchora vi sono prestanzonj presentj cho[n] ricrescimento pagati a tenpo e non a tenpo vendutj o paghati no poso chosi apunto vedere la ragione credo siano circha fjorinj duegento dal piu al meno non a abatto

Anchora o in sul banco di filippo di zanobi fj cinquantasej

Anchora o a fare una ragione cho mio fratello credo mi ara [avrà] a dare quando gli avessj [?] andremo al catasto cmviamo prima piatire sono di nostra divisione

questi sono glincharichj in prima o uno fanciulo deta dannj cuatordici il quale o alevato insino da picholo tengolo chome figliuolo o una fante che govirna

Anchora o debito chol opera di santa liparata chome aparisce alibro delopera fiorinj cinquanta cinque i quali danari sono loro obrigato fj. 55 Sol. —

Anchora o debito chonantonio di Sau fiorini diecj chome apare per libro suo fj. 10 Sol. —

Anchora col bonj ispeziale per medicina fj quatro fj. 4 Sol. —

Anchora chon piu persone maestri di legname e fabrij fj venti questo e tuto lo stato mio fj. 20 Sol. —

Filippo di Ser brunelescho deta dani 50

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Drago, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1427, Cod. Sto. No. 53 a c. 810]

The Campione Cod. 79 c. 219t e 220 gives the tax "sol. xv aoro e sol. vi aoro per la sua testa."

DOCUMENT 2

Al nome di dio amen adj 24 di gienario 1430

Dinanzj da voj Signorj Uficialj del chatasto questa e la sostanza dj filipo di Ser bruneleschi e glincharichj e debiti nel quartiere di Santo giovannj ghonfalone del drago popolo di Santo Michele berteldj

Jn prima una chasa e masserizie per mio uso del detto filipo posta nel popolo di Santo Michele berteldi quartiere di S. giovannj ghonfalone del drago tute laltre mie sostanze son insulmonte olle [le ho] fatte trovare agliscrivanj del monte le quali sono queste che si trovasse insulmonte altra chosa honone [non ne ho] tengho conto nelquelo mi dichono i detti iscrivanj istarone [ne starono] alla vostra descrezione

Truovomi insulmonte chomune colla condizione non si possono vendere fj miltrecento venti quatro sol. sette dj tre fj. 1324 Sol. 7 di. 3

Anchora in filipo deto monte chomune fj. cento novanta e Sol. diecj fi. 190 Sol. 10 dj 3

Anchora nel monte di 5 per cento fj. venti sol. Quatro fj. 20 sol. 4 di. 11

Anchora nel monte di pisa colle condizione non possono vendere fj. quattrociento venti

Anchora nel monte dotto [di otto] percento fj. secento trenta due sol. otto fj. 632 sol. 8 di. —

paghe sostenute dal [14]15 al 19 dichono questa partita in Ser brunelescho la parte che tocha ame filipo e la meta di 6 laltra meta allerede di Tomaso di ser brunelescho la mia meta sono fj. 26 sol. 19

Anchora in filipo e tomaso fj. 1 sol. 7 di. 6

Anchora in filipo detto di monte di pisa fj. venticinque sol. 3 dj. 2 page del dicanove al ventitre 14 [19] al 23

Anchora in filipo deto paghe di monte chomune fj. 66 sol. 4 dj. —

Anchora in Filipo deto paghe del monte di pisa fj. 142 sol. — dj. — paghe sostenute dal [14]23 al 27

Anchora in filipo deto di monte chomune fj. settanta fj. 70 sol. 3

Anchora in filipo deto di monte di pisa fj. Quarantuno e sol. — fj. 41 sold. —

Anchora nel monte detto percento fj. 1 sol. 18

Questi son i chatasti perinsino a deta chagione posti e paghati e vanno a monte nel [14]31

Anchora in filipo deto chatasti 30½ vanno odi chatastj fj. 5 sol. 7 di. 3 montano in tuto fj. 162 sol. 13 di. 3

Anchora per due chatasi vanno al monte nel 31 fj. 10 sol. 14 d. 6

Anchora per due chatasi credo sieno per achato di luglio fj. 18 sol. 14 di. 6

Anchora per un chatasto credo che sia achatti al

Anchora i quatro achatj di gienario o [ho] gli vendutj pero nogli trago fuori

Anchora o daverre dal banco dagnolo di San martelini che fu il quale a falito uno resto di fiorini venticinque rimastogli nel discrezione degluficialj quello che gli e pero nogli tengho fuori

Anchora siamo apiato choifrarj delle chanpora nel quale

luogho tomaso mio fratello fu e figliuolo che fu dj ser brunellescho si chomisse sotto filipo suo fratello contendo parte della suaresta la quale di ragione credo mi tochj e non si puo sapere ilquale senone [se non è] quando sarà determinata da dotori del monte e pero a insulmonte quasi il tu[t]to e glj scrivani non vogliono mostrare il suo senone a chi fu lerede chome usanza quando sara dichiarata la cui sieno saro dinanzi da voj per quello mi tochasse acio poggiata la graveza in su quella redita e a chui tochera e dove si fa luogho il piato possono vedere gliuficialj del chatasto cio che eglia [egli ha] insulmonte a richatastato

Written by Brunelleschi:

Questi sono gliincharichj e debiti di filipo di Ser brunellescho

Jn prima avere a scontare una bocha cio[e] filipo di Ser brunellescho fj. 200

Truovomi debito cholopera di santa liperata fiorinj cinquanta cinque tolsi a chondurre certo marmo delquale resto debitore alibro segnato esse [s] c. 108 fj. 55 sol.—

Anchora sono debitore di bertino di vernagala da settignano di fj. cindicj di marmo e rima[s]to perduto in arno conviemolo a mandare sono in tutto fj. 15

Anchora debo dare a prinzivalle orafo di pisa malevadone duno letto achatossj nela guera del vecha ossi [o si è] perduto nella presa di ponte tuto ollo [l'ho] a mandare i let[t]o estimato fj. xviije il nolo di mesi nove che sono grossi 36 in tuto fj. 16½

Anchora debo dare a Rinaldo e Antonio di mateo chasini che prestano in borgo salorenzo per uno ronzino tenilo [lo tenni] dj [die] 36 in chanpo fj. IIIJ

Anchora debo dare andrea di lazero dechavalchanti fiorinj trentasej e quali danare debo dare a luj propio prestati fj. 36

37 sol. 19 oro per le page di febraio

fj. 632 sol.— di monte di prestanzoni

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1430, Sto. Cod. 382 a c. 723 e 723t]

The Campione Cod. 498 a c. 243 e 243t is a little different but I cite only the tax "Tochagli di chatasto fj dua sol. sette in tutto fj. 11 sol. VIII—e per una testa dj. 10 dj. 10."

DOCUMENT 3

Al nome di dio amen fata adj 31 di maggio 1433

Queste sono le sustanze dj filipo di Ser Brunellescho che gli sono rimase in sul monte o pagha ogni che anno andare a monte noglj posso dare ora pero o paghato a venduti a tenpo e nona [non ha] tenpo e anchora o debito chol chomune quando salderete cho[n] marchio el conto rehero i detti danarj apunto e anchora le paghe sostenute no lo posso avere per calcha e hanno a libro e glj scrivani del monte

truovomi in sul monte chomune in tre partite neluna fiorinj 1280 sol. 17 nellaltra fj. 237 sol. 18 nela terza fj. 11 sol. 17 sono in tu[t]o fj. 1530 sol. 12 di 6 fiorini millecinquecentotrenta sol. dodici dj. sei

Truovomi issulmonte dj cinque percento fiorini venti fj. 20 sol.—

Truovomi insulmonte dotto percentinaio de quali o paghe in dua partite sono fiorinj settecento trentasette sol. undicj fj. 737 sol. 11

Truovomi page sostenute recherole [le reherò] subito

Truovomi danari paghàti e non asegnati recheroglj Resto avere dalerede dagnolo martelini uno resto di fiorinj 6 i qualj istimo perduti fj. 6 sol.—

Credo avere da frati delle canpora duna redita di uno fratello che mori nel deto luogho de frati chome chomesso nella detta reghola luogho posto a cholonbaia convieni piatire cholloro se nulla sene ritrata rechorolo al vostro ufficio di chatasto

Truovomi chon una chasa e maserizie che [ch'è] mia posta nel popolo di Santo michele berteldi e o scatasto in questo vecchio dj. fj. quatro sol. quattordici dj. otto

Questi sono glincharichi e debiti dj filippo di ser brunellescho truovomi si puo dire vechio pasati anni sesanta e a[n]chora solo cioe una bocha ischontasi fj. dugento fj. 200

Resto a dare per insino a questo di a chomune di firenze chatasti dieci sono conposto

Co[n]regolatore o per chatasto fj. 4 sol. 14 dj. 8 sono in tuto fj. 49 sol. 7 fiorini quaranta nove sol. sette

Resto a dare a Ser bartolomeo da saminiato notaro dela porta dj santa liparata fiorinj venti fj. 20 sol.—

Resto a dare a Lorenzo dj tingho da brucianosi lib. 33 di marmo mi recho cho[n] la schapa sua fj. 8 sol.—

Resto adare antonio charduci e a dua suj chonpagni dj marmo mi recharono da enpoli sono loro debitore duno resto per quattro fiorini fj. 4 sol.—

O a dare andrea di lazero di chavalchanti Maestro dintaglio duna sepoltura e una altare o piu altri lavori che egli a fatti a chosimo de Medicj o altri citadinj o anchora in santa liparata i qualj danarj o presi io filipo di ser brunellescho sono fj dugento chome vi faro chiarj quando il vorete vedere questi danari reherolgli [li reherò] al chatasto fj. 200 sol.—

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1433, Sto. Cod. 474 a c. 645 e 645t]

DOCUMENT 4

alnome dj dio amen annj 1442

al 28 di settenbre Go drago S Giovanni

Onorevoli e signiori uficialj della nuova graveza queste sono le sustanze di filipo di Ser brunellescho ista nel quartiere di santo giovannj ghonfalone del dragho

in prima una chasa nel popolo di santo michele berteldi nela quale io abito

Anchora o paghe dj monte chomune sono fiornj mile-novecentotrenta sej sol. sette dj. otto iscrivendo per abacho 1936 sol. 7 dj. 8 fj. 172 sol. 12

Anchora o paga del monte chomune dal [14]39 sono fiorinj dugentonovanta sol. cinque dj. uno per abacho fj. 290 sol. 5 dj. 1—fj. 10 sol. 17 di. 6

Anchora oinsulmonte chomune fj. undicj sol. diciasete dj. sette per abacho sono fj. 11 sol. 17 dj. 7—fj.—sol. 8 dj. 3

Anchora o nel monte dj. cinque interi fiorinj centodue sol. cindicj per abacho fj. 102 sol. 13—fj. 5 sol. 2

Anchora oinsulmonte de prestanzoni sono a 8 percento fiorinj settecentocinquanta sej sol. tre dj. undicj per abacho fj. 756 sol. 7 dj. 11—fj. 45 sol. 7 d. 3

Anchora vi sono danari pagatj dal trentanove insino a ora no se ne pago quando saranno asignati al monte daro la rendita

Anchora mi truovo vechio e non poso piu valerme di mia industria e o paghato piu chio nono [non ho] potuto inpero Mi truovo di questa graveza che al presente voglia [vegga ?] fj. sej. sol. due per abacho fj. 6 sol. 2 Yio mi racchomando alle vostre choscienze e sapere certamente chio o di rendita la[n]no del monte quello che rendono e sopradetti danari

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1442, Sto. Cod. 624 a c. 520]

This is the only Portata for 1442. There is no Campione. Hence no tax is shown.

DOCUMENT 5

Q S Giovannj go [ghonfalone] dragho

Filippo di ser brunellescho lippi prestanziato in detto gonfalone di primo chatasto ebbe fjorinj cinque soldj sette danarj undicj e senza isgravo

ebbe di dispiacente fiorinj qua[t]tro e soldj dodicj danarj undicj e senza isgravo

Rapporo fatto per me andrea di lazzerio di chavalchante maestro di scharpello herede dj filippo di Ser brunellescho sopra detto Charta per mano di Ser bartolomeo di maestro antonio da santo miniato

Jn prima una chasa chon maserizie per suo abitare posto nel popolo di santo michele berteldi da primo via di chomune da sechondo Migliorotto dantonio migliorotti da terzo e da quarto antonio di cristofano tessitore dj drapj

Anchora ha insulmonte dj comune dj firenze iscrittj fiorinj tremila dugentoventicinque

Anchora ve [v'è] di paghe sostenute dal 1419 al 1423 fiorinj se[s]santa sej trattj ale cento cinquantotto miglia

Anchora ha al monte ve[c]chio fiorinj cento trenta cinque di buonj

Anchora ebbe dachatto delle quaranta miglia fiorini tre

Queste sono le sustanze che sono rimase di Filippo di Ser brunellescho sopradetto trattone i leghatorj del testamento e tutte laltre ispeze fatte priegovi vi sieno rachoma[n]date concio sta chosa che io andrea sopradetto per medesimo sono uno povero gharzone chon filippo allevato e solamente e mio desiderio di potere fare honore ala sua buona memoria siavi rachomandato

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph of Andrea?) al Catasto 1446, Sto. Cod. 680 a c. 435]

Cod. 679 a c. 403 is a duplicate. On the back is written the tax computation "Somma fj. cientododicj sol. XII dj. 10—fj. 112.12.10 e non fa abattere nulla per mezzo fj. 1 sol. 6 dj. 5 aoro."

DOCUMENT 6

MCCCCXLVI

Al Tenpo di Ser Monte di Johi di Ser Monte

filippo di Ser brunellescho pplo di sci michele berteldj Riposto jn Sa Ma del fiore adi 17 [d'aprile 1446]

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Medici e Speciali, Libro della Grascia 1439-1449, Sto. Arti 6, Libro della Grascia No. 4]

NOTE

Only little comment is needed on these Portate. They denote that Ghiberti lived well financially and left a good-sized estate to his adopted son, Andrea. There seems to have been a very marked affection between the two men.

FRANCESCO DI STEFANO [PESELLINO]

DOCUMENT 1

In the margin, autograph: Francesco di Stefano dj pintore e la madre

dinanzj avoj signiorj diecj uficialj della Chonservazione e aumentazione del chomune di fir enze della nuova graveza quasta la porta di beni di francescho dj stefano ella madre go[nfalone] dragho santo ispirito

Ne sechondo chatasto diceva inistefano dj lorenzo dj pintore al presente diecje in francescho suo figliuolo e la madre

una chasa in borgho san friano e detto popolo cho[n] chofinj per nostro abitare

unachasa da lavoratore chon orto e chon piupezi dj terra lavoratii e vgniatj posti nella villa dj chalciano chontado dj prato cho loro chonfini.

uno pezo di vignia posto in luogho detto padula piviere di settimo cho sua chonfini . . .

uno mezo pezo di terra chonuna chasallina che non sabita nel popolo dj san bartolo in tutto presso a charchareglj cho sua chonfini . . .

venduta detta chasa andrea di iacopo fornaciaio

Una chasetta in chamaldolj nella via del fiore nel popolo di verzaia drento alle mura cho sua chonfinj . . .
una chasetta in chamaldolj luogho detto in via sangiovanj nel popolo dj Verzaia drento alle mura cho sua chonfinj

venduta detta chasa al fede dj vannj purghatoio
una mezza entratura duna bottega nel chiasso deglj adimarj stave dentro ghalvano dj cristofano dj pintore e l'altra meta dj detta entratura e della rede di iacopo di cristofano dj pintore

abbiamo lanno di detta entratura lib. IIIJ dj chandele di cjera da detto ghalvano dj cristofano perche aveva i[n] su detta bottega parte dentrata acia chonceduta dopo la morte sua libera sicche ci da lanno imentio avere lib. IIIJdj chandele che me ne tocha a me propio lib. IJ fj. sol. 5 aoro

dj [danari] dimonte

A fj. 27 sol. 19 dj. 4 di monte chomune fj. I sol. 6 dj. 3

a fj. 16 sol. 3 dj. 3 dj monte dj prestanzone e fj. — sol. 19 dj. 2

A fj. 46 sol. 6 di monte chomune del [14]31 al 35 fj. I sol. 14 dj. 6

boche

Francescho dj stefano detto detta dannj 18

Ma bartolomea sua madre detta dannj 48

Chaterina di . . . ista chonesso noni [con noi] per la ispesa detta danni 10

Troviancj dj cinquina sol. 19 aoro . . .

In the margin, the tax: sold. 6

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di Santo Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1442, Sto. Cod. 612 a c. 559 e 559r]

DOCUMENT 2

Q di sco ispo [spirito] Go[falone] Drago

Francescho dj stefano dj lorenzo dipintore e la madre ghonfalone dragho santo spirito detto

ebbe a nome detto francescho sol. 10 aoro

a dj dispiacente nela presente graveza sol. 7 dj. 8 aoro ebbe nel primo chatasto sol. 10 che de dire in istefano dj lorenzo dipintore mio padre

benj

Una chasetta in borgho san friano nel popolo dj san friano detto laquale tegniamo per nostro abitare da primo via sechondo martino dj michele bidaiuolo $\frac{1}{3}$ piero di michele darigho dj ghordo $\frac{1}{4}$ rede $\frac{1}{4}$ rede dj michele dj ser freschoborghj

Una chasetta dallavoratore chun pocho orto e piu pezi dj terra posta nella villa dj chontado dj prato popolo dj sanpiero della detta villa . . .

Una chasollare entrovj tre ghanolette da fare e lume

chon un pocho di terra dj staiora 6 posta nel popolo dj santo bartolo in tutto piviere dj settimo . . .

La sopradetta terra e meza per non divisa chol sopradetto iachopo dj cristofano dipintore la qual e terra abbiamo affitata insieme a . . .

un pezo di terra vigniata posta nel piviere dj settimo luogho detto padulla . . .

Un pezo dj terra ulivata posta nel popolo di somartino lapolina luogho detto chorneto . . .

Una chasetta posta nella via del fiore in chamaldolj nel popolo dj santa maria a vezaia . . .

Truovomi di monte chomune circha dj. fj. 90

francescho di stefano sopra detto deta dannj 22 el quale sta chon eltraj [?] del mercaio

Ma Bartolomea sua madre deta dannj 59

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1446, Cod. 654 a c. 9 e 9r]

DOCUMENT 3

+ al nome dj dio adi XIJ daghosto 1451 Q

Spo [spirito] Go[nfalone] dragho

Sustanze e benj di francescho di stefano dipintore ela madre diceva la graveza nel primo chatasto in istefano di lorenzo dipintore mio padre truovomi nel decina del 1447 sol. Quatro dj. dieci in sol. IIIJ dj. x

This is practically a duplicate of the Portata of 1446. To save space I quote only the variations.

Anchora la meta duna entratura duna bottega posta nel chiasso degli adimarj a uso dipintore e l'altra meta e di francescho dj iachopo dipintore la detta bottega e di Ma [Mona] bartolomea donna fu dantonio dagnio orafo chon questi chonfini da primo via sechondo ino di piero chalzaiuolo a 3 detta Ma bartolomea a 4 la piazuola del ficho rende detta entratura lanno di pigione lib. sette per uno e una ocha

. . .

Tochaglj per sol. 4 per lira fj. 3 sol. 19 dj. 6

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1451, Sto. Cod. 692 a c. 69 e 69r]

DOCUMENT 4

francescho di stefano dipintore ella madre quartieredi sant[o] spirito gonfalone dragho disse nel primo chatasto inistefano dj lorenzo dipintore mio padre

Ebbe di chatasto fj. — sol. 8 dj —

ebbe di cinquina fj. — sol. 6 di 8 dce in francescho detto ebbsi di valsente fj. 5 sol. 19 di. 4

Beni

Una chasa posta nel popo[l]o di san friano luogho detto borgho san friano . . . detta chasa tenyamo per nostro abitare

Una chasetta posta nel popo di Santa maria i[n]

verzaia dentro alle mura luogho detto la via del fiore . . .

Detta chasa si vende salvo in lucro lanno 1432 ovvero lanno 1433 andrea diachopo fornaciaio . . .

. . .

dua pezi di terra lavoratia e vigniana posta nella villa ciornelj chontado di prato . . .

La quale terra barattamo adi 3 di maggio 1430 . . .

Una chasetta di terra dallavoratore chon dua istaiera detto posto nel popo di San piero a chalciano chontado di prato . . .

E piu cinque pezi di terra lavoratia e vigniata posta in detto popo e luogho cholloro vochabolj e confini

Rende

In kind: fj. 160

Un pezo di vignia posta nel popo di san Bartolo in tutto piviere di settimo luogho detto insulvinchone . . .

Rende vino barili 10

Tochami lanno di pigione di channe lib. 5

detta vignia lavora pipo tesorj del detto popolo fj. 35 sol. 4 dj. 4

Un pezo di terra nel popo di san bartolo in tutto piviere di settimo chon una chasalina da farvi dentro laven-demia . . .

Lavora detta terra pipo Tesorj rende lanno staia 3 di grano

Un pezo di terra in detto popo luogho detto giriegio di staiora 3 . . . rende lanno staia 3 di grano fj. 9

un mezo pezo di terra per non divisa choniachopo di cristofano dipintore posto nel popo di sam martina deta terra si vende adi 3 daghosto 1428 . . .

Truovomi essere creditore in su libri del monte di fj. cioe di pagho

Anchora one [ne ho] lanno da francescho diachopo di cristofano dipintore per fare sua facende perchè e stato insino a ora pupillo fj. 3

Anchora o avere da giovanni di nicholo daringho e chonpagnia mercaij fj. xv e quali paghai per loro fj. 11

Anchora mi truovo esere chonpagnio di romolo dandrea di nofrj mercaio in merchato vechio in una botteggha tegniamo a pigione da chosimo de medicj della quale paghamo lanno di pigione fj. 50 in mia parte e chosi una parte di detta botteggha abbiamo apigionata a bartolomeo di piero chalzaiuolo della quale parte ci da lanno fj. 11

debitori di detta botteggha e quali maspettano ½ dartolomeo di parto chalzaiuolo ci resta a dare di pigione fj. 36

Mazo djachopo di binaza righatt[iere]

lib. 6 fj. 18 per la meta

piu depitori di picchole somme fj. —

lib. 56 fj. 28 fj. 7

detti debitori tocchano la meta

per mia parte

140. 16. 0

cheditori di detta botteggha aspettano a me la meta chosimo de medicj debbe avere dannoj di resto di pigione della sopradetta botteggha fj. 180 fj. 90

Incharichi

E frati di charmine debbono ogni anno in perpetuo avere dame lib. sei di chandele di ciera per uno uficio per lanima di stefano mio padre per suo testamento fj. 11 sol. 17 d. 2

Tomaso di piero mercaio avere damme fj. xi e piu debito chon piu persone di picchole somme

Boche

Francescho di stefano sopradetto deta dannj 33 fj. 200

Ma bartolomea mia madre deta dannj 64 fj. 200

Ma lesandra mia donna deta danni 22 fj. 200

Ginevra mia figliuola legittima danni 3 fj. 200

. . .

. . .

Chonposto in sol. quatro fj. — sol. 4

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1451, Campione Sto. Cod. 795 a c. 269, 269^r e 270]

DOCUMENT 5

Quarte di Santo Spirito G Drago

francescho di stefano ella madre diceva nel primo chatasto in stefano di lorenzo dipintore mio padre ebbe nel primo chatasto sol. viii di

nel valsente in franco detto 1451 fj. iij sol. xviii dj. vi

nelchatasto lanno 1457 sol. iij di. —

nella ventina 1469 sol. vii

Sustanze

Una chasa posta nel popo[lo] di sanfriano di firenze luogho detto borgho di san friano . . . detta chasa tegniamo per nostro uso cholla nostra famiglia

Una chasetta di terra dalavorativa posta nel popolo di san piero a chanciano chontado di prato . . .

Rende lanno i[n] mia parte

In kind: lib. 51.6.0 fj. 183.4

un pezo di vignia posta nel piviere di settimo luogho detto i[n] padula ulviachone

Rende in mia parte

vino barili 3 lib. 10

Tochami a paghare lanno per channe fj. 35.14.4

½ pezo di terra pernondivisa cho francho diachopo Xpo [Christo] fano dipintore posta nel piviere di settimo popolo di San Bartolo . . . di staiora vi

Rende lanno i[n] mia parte

grano istaia iij

[Word erased, perhaps "creditore"] in sul monte
chomune di micchole chose nollo so [non lo so] fj. xv

Beni alienati

Una chasetta posta nel popo di Santa maria i[n] verzaia dentro alle mura luogho detto la via del fiore . . .
detta chasa si vende a lionardo di sandro diachopo del
mercaia foraciaio . . .

IJ pezi di terra lavoratia posta nel chontado di prato
luogho detto nonuglj . . .

detta terra chanbiagno a di iij di maggio 1430 cho[n]
nardo di franco della villa di chalciano chon una presa di
terra postao i[n] detta villa e popo di san piero a chal-
ciano . . .

½ pezo di terra per non divisa co[n] franco diachopo
di xpofano dipintore nel popo di San martino lapolane
. . . vendesi dette terre adi daghosto 1425

Incharichi

Ongni anno i[n]perpetuo per uno uficio nel charmine
adi 6 di dicenbre el di di santo stefano per lanima di mio
padre nel quale ispndo i[n]ciera lib. 5

O a pigione in sulla piazza del re diacopo di biagio . . .
gli do lanno di pigione lib. xvii sol.

Bocche

Franco [francescho] sopradetto dannj 42

lesandra sua donna deta dannj 30

Ma bartolomea madre del detto franco danni 74

Ginevra figliuola di detto franco danni 10

stefano figliuolo di detto franco danni 5

brigida figliuola di detto di mesi 3

Conposto . . . in chatasto fj. — sol. xi fj. — sol. 11

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1469,
Campione Sto. Cod. 909 a c. 562]

NOTE

There seems to be very little comment needed on these
Portate of Pesselino. It should, however, be noted that
I have proved the statement that he died in 1457 to be
inaccurate by the discovery of his Portata of 1469. As
his name does not appear in the *Libro di Debiti e Crediti*
1472-1520 of the *Compagnia di San Luca*, it may safely
be said that he died between 1469 and 1472.

LORENZO Ghiberti

DOCUMENT I

+ xp[us] [Christus] MCCCCXXVJJ a dj viii di luglio

Dinanzi a voi Signori Uficialj del Chatasto del comune
di firenze sustanze e i[n]charichi per me Lorenzo di
bartolo orafo lavora le po[r]te di sco giova[n]ni
ghonfalone delle chiavi ho di prestanzoni fj. IJ sol. xvj
dj. x le sustanze sono queste cioè

unachasa posta nel popolo di Sco ambruogio di
Fire[n]ze nellavia borgho Allegri confinata da primo
via da Ij Zanobi di Jacopo devosso da iij Tomaso dj
bertolone granauiolo detto bellcoto[?] e piu altri co[n]fini
a detta chasa co[n] piu maseritie a uso dime e della mia
famiglia fj. —

Uno pezzo di te[r]ra posto nel popolo di sco donato
i[n] frozano . . . lavorala nanni di nicholo dame di
fitto la[n]no soma una dolio fj. —

Truovomi inbottega ij istorie dottone per una fontedi
battesimo lequali o fatte per a siena le quali due istorie
saranno per amici comuni a stimare penso avere pellomeno
quattrocento o circa de quali o auti fj. 290 restera avere
fj. cientodieci fj. 110

Truovomi ancora i[n] bottega una chassetta dottone
fatta per chosimo de medici stima di fj. cc o circha
dellaquale o avuti gia piu tenpo per ispese sono ite
[andate] i[n] nosia [?] fj. cxxxv

Resta avere ancora fj. LXV — fj. 59

insulmo[n]te del chomune di fire[n]ze mitruova
ischritti i[n] me fj. 714½ di mo[n]te detto per cento
de quali ne posta la con[d]izione dj fj. 100 per fj. 50
gli resto a dare cioe albancho di di sau e compagni fj. —

Resta avere da frati di sca maria novella fj. 10 della
sepoltura chjo [che io] feci pel gienerallo fj. 10

da giuliano di piero Maestro di murare detto Sotti-
billa [?] fj. 5

+ xp[us] a dj viii di luglio 1427

Incharichi a me lore[n]zo dibartolo orafo

Lorenzo sopradetto detta da[n]ni xlvj o ci[r]cha

La Marsilia mia donna detta da[n]ni xxvi o circha

Tomaso mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni x o ci[r]cha

Vettorio mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni viij o ci[r]cha

o debito co[n] piu pe[r]sone come in questo diro

Antonio di piero delvaglante e compagni orafi fj. 13

Nichola di messer Veri de medici fj. 10

Domenicho di tano coltricaio fj. 9

Nicholo charducci e co[n]pagni ritagliatori fj. 7

Papi dandrea legniaiuolo fj. 16

Mariano degli anbassi Maestro di murare fj. 7

Papero di meo dasetignano

Simone di nani da fiesole

Cipriano di bartolo da pistoia

sono miei gharzoni in bottega fj. 46

Antonio chiamato el maestro sarto fj. 15

domenicho di lippo coltricaio fj. 2

Allesandro allesandri e co[n]pagni fj. 4

Duccio adimari e co[n]pagni ritagliatori fj. 8

Antonio di giova[n]ni Cartocaio fi. 3

Jsaco dagnolo e co[n]pagni fj. 50

Lope[r]a di sca crocie fj. 6

Lore[n]zo di brucianese fornaciaio e co[n]pagni fj. 3

Meo lastraiuolo a sco polinare fj. 5
Pippo . . . chalzolaio aleporte fj. 8

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Chiavi, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1427, Sto. Cod. 58 a c. 199 e 199r]

The Campione Cod. 80 a c. 423t gives the tax "choposto per gliuficialj i[n] fj. 1 sol. viij."

DOCUMENT 2

+ XPUS MCCCCXXX adj xxvj di gie[n]naio

Dina[n]zi a voi signori Uficiali del Chatasto del comune di firenze soatanzie et i[n]charichi per me Lore[n]zo di bartolo orafo lavora le po[r]te di sco giova[n]ni quartier di sco giova[n]ni ghonfalone delle chiavi sustanzie son queste

o di catasto fj. 1 sol. 8

una chasa posta posta nel popolo di sco ambruogio di firenze i[n] via borgho allegri [see last Portata for details]

uno pezo di te[r]ra posto nel popolo di sco donato i[n] frozano . . . dame [nani di nicholo] di fitto una soma dollio

45 pechore tielle neri di piero del popolo di sco bartolo a pomino a mezo pero chon mezzo danno

insulmonte del chomune di fire[n]ze mi truovo iscritti i[n] me fj. MCCVIJ dotto per cento e quali ne posto una co[n]dizione dice i[n] alesandro di giuliano torrigiani dj. fj. cc laquale co[n]dizione e per ottanta fj. mi presto el detto alesandro e quali danarj pel banco dagnolo di sau martellini

O avere dallarte de chalimala francesori fi. dugie[n]to ottanta e quali dj [danari] o vanzati colla detta arte come aparisce pe loro libri

O avere da giuliano di piero del banbaccio maestro di murare fj. ci[n]que

XPUS MCCCCXXX adi xxvi

Jncharichi di lore[n]zo di bartolo orafo
Lore[n]zo sopradetto deta da[n]ni 49 o ci[r]ca
La Marsilia mia do[n]na deta da[n]ni 30 o ci[r]ca
Tomaso mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni 13
Vettorio mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni 12

o debito co[n]piu persone

Allexandro di giuliano torrigiani fj. ottanta	fj. 80
Filippo di nicholo da fiesole fj. settanta cinque	fj. 75
Nichola di maso neri fj. dodici	fj. 12
lerede dagnolo di sau ma[r]tellini fj. otto	fj. 8
Antonio sarto chiamato el maestro fj. sedici	fj. 16
Alfondaco di spinello adimari fj. tre	fj. 3
A pippo chalzolaio fj. quatro	fj. 4
a Jacopo . . . legnaiuolo da sco tomaso fj. tre	fj. 3

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1430, Sto. Cod. 386 a c. 192 e 192r]

The Campione Cod. 409 a c. 191 e 191r gives the tax "chonposto i[n] sol. sedicj sol. 16."

DOCUMENT 3

XPUS MCCCCXXXIIJ adi xxviii di maggio

Jnanzi avoi uficialj del chatasto del comune di fire[n]ze sustanzie e i[n]charichi per me lore[n]zo di bartolo orafo lavora leporte di sco giova[n]ni ghofalone delle chiavi

o di chatasto sol. xvj

le sustanze mie son queste

Una chasa posta nel popolo di sco ambruogio di firenze i[n] borgho allegri . . .

uno podere avita de me e della do[n]na mia e de miei figliuoli posto nel popolo di sco piero a chareggi . . . ebi el detto podere dallarte dj chalimala . . .

uno pezo di terra a sco donato i[n] frozano la quale mi costo fj. xiiij . . . e tielo a mezo dame el detto na[n]ni [di piero] one [i]n mia parte istaia due di grano b[arili] ij di vino

O circha di xxx pechore le quale tiene a mezo neri di piero da del popolo di sco bartolo a pimino

o i[n] sulmo[n]te del comune di fire[n]ze mi truovo iscritti fj. 984 dotto per cento e i[n] sul detto mo[n]te le page sostenute dj fj. 1006 e quali vende antonio di nicholo barbadoro sono dotto per cento o i[n] detto mo[n]te pagati a riavere da ma[r]zo 1432 perinsino adi detto di sopra

o avere chollarte di chalima[la] ci[r]cha dj. fj. 1000 e qualj o ava[n]zati cholla detta arte

da giuliano di piero avere fj. ci[n]que

XPO MCCCCXXXIIJ di xxviii di maggio

Jncharichj di lore[n]zo di bartolo orafo
ghonfalone delle chiavi jo lorenzo sopradetto deta da[n]ni LIJ o ci[r]ca la ma[r]silia mia do[n]na deta da[n]ni xxxiiij o ci[r]ca

Tomaso mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni xvi o circa

Vettorio mio figliuolo deta da[n]ni xv o ci[r]ca

O debito con piu pe[r]sone

Filippo di nicholo da fiesole iscarpellatore	
avere da me circa dj. fj. xxxviii	fj. xxxviii
Antonio chiamato el maestro sarto	
ci[r]ca	fj. xvj
Agiuliano di ser andre a sta a sco sabbio	
avere ci[r]ca	fj. x
alla ghabella dellsale per Va[n]ni	
dibartolo di latino della pieve di pitiano fj.	
venti equali promisi per lui	

a nicholo di giova[n]ni charduccj pro-
veditore della detta ghabella fj. xx
al fondaco di nicholaio degli alle sandri
fj. diciotto fj. xviiij
A simone di na[n]ni da fiesole che lavora
mecho fj. xvi
Apapero di meo da settignano fj. x
Apapi dandrea legnaiuolo da sco tomaso fj. — ij
a cola di nicholo darezo fj. — iij
a quarente orafo per una promessa ci[r]ca fj. — iij
Antonio del maestro ghera[r]do fj. — ij

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata 1433, Cod. 479
a c. 143 e 143^t]

Cod. 481 (autograph) is almost a duplicate.

DOCUMENT 4

I no[m]i[n]e djo MCCCCXXXIJ adi 30 dagosto

In the margin: lorenzo di bartolo deto bartoluccio maestro
dele porte

Quartiere Sco giova[n]ni Gonfalone chiavi

Dinanzi da voj S[ignior]i diecj hufcialj della conser-
vatio[n]e aume[n]tatjone della nuova graveza del
comune dj firenze per si raporta Lorenzo di bartolo
Maestro delle porte di scto giova[n]ni

Le mie sustanzie e benj i[n] sua scripttj cioe

una chasa con suoj edificj posta i[n] firenze nel popolo
di scto abruogio luogo detto via borgallegri con una
casetta allato alla sopradetta la quale conperai da mona
pagola da[n]na che fu di tomaso di bartolomeo da
rovezano la quale jo habito da primo via da seco[n]do
Zanobi del rosso vajajo da terzo segnja di Ser Lucha e da
qua[r]to le chase di sco abruogio e via

Uno pezzo di terra lavoratia co[n] pocho di vjngnja
la qual e conperaj da nani di nicholo e una meza chasa
per nondivisa posta nel popolo di scto donato i[n]
frozano . . .

un podere posto nel popolo di scto piero a chareggi . . .

conperai detta possessione dallarte de me[r]cata[n]tj
auso di me e della mia famiglia di pointorna a detta arte
ebesi per pregio dj fiorinj trecento sesanta

Tre pezzetti di te[r]ra lavoratja co[n] alchuno uljvo
. . . posti i[n] detto pplo e luogo detto mo[n]te piano
lavorala il sopradetto lavoratore rende

grano staia sej a sol. 20 lib. 6

olio orge mezo lib. 2 sol. 10

fj. 2 sol. 2 di. 6

costomj fiorini settanta

uno podere chon hasa a singnjore dallavoratore posto
nel popolo della pieve a septimo dj staiora ci[n]qua[n]ta
. . . E un pezo di terra di stajora quattordicj chon chasa
dallavoratore posto con detto luogo e in detto popolo . . .

Conperaj detti terreni dalla rede dj sandro beliotti
costomj fiorinj trecento ciqua[n]ta

Ritruovami nel secondo chatasto avere i[n] sul monte
fj. MCCCCVIJ de quali nessuno mi ritruovo oggi avere ne
dj nessuna fatta de qualj danarj no co[n]perato le
sopradette chose e p[ar]te pagata mia graveza

bocche e eta

Lorenzo deta dannj sesantadue

La do[n]na sua deta dannj quaran[t]a quatro

Maso deta dannj ventisej

Vettoriot deta da[n]ni ventici[n]que

Ritruovo avere di graveza uno fj. sol. 9 dj. 11

Jo vettoriot figliuolo di sopradetto Lore[n]zo Metto
qui da pie cento sessanta forni di mo[n]te i quali danarj
dichono i[n] me manon sono mjei i[n]p[er]o sono di
mona lisa do[n]na che fu di berto de rigieri

G[onfalone] L[eone] adoro e chosi si co[n]to[r]ra
per lla sua scritta

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (written by notary
in first person) al Catasto 1442, Cod. No. 672 a c. 214
e 214^t]

There is no Campione so no tax can be given.

DOCUMENT 5

1446

Q S G G chiavi

Dinanzi da voi signiorj uficialj eletti a porre la nuova
gravezza del popolo di firenze Rapporto per me si fa

Lorenzo di cione di Ser bonachorso ghiberti altre-
me[n]te chjamato lorenzo dj bartoluccio maestro djn-
tagljo

nella decima ebbi fj. 1

nel dispiacente ebbi fj. sol. 2 dj. 2

nel primo chatasto ebbi fj. 1 sol. 8

una chasa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di sco
anbruogio via borgallegri [*see preceding Portata*]

un podere posto nel popolo scto piero a chareggi [*see
preceding Portata*]

un pezo di te[r]ra lavoratia posta nel popolo si sco
donato i[n] frozano . . .

un pezo di tera vjngnjata posta i[n] detto popolo di
scto donato i[n] frozano . . . chonperossi dellanno 1442
del mese daprile fu conperato per vettoriot mj figliuolo
. . . lavorala e detto nannj di nicholo sopradetto terra e
vingnja chosto fj. 35 Rende i[n] parte vino barlj 6

Un podere posto nel popolo della pieve di sco giljano
a settimo chon chasa per nostro abitare e chasa dalavora-
tore conperato dellanno 1441 a di 2 di gennaio da biliotto
di sandro biliotti i[n]sieme chon una chasetta dove si fa
lavendemia chosto fj. 360

Rende in parte lano

Grano staia 36
biada e fave staia 6
nocj staio 1
vino barilj sej barilj 6
Caponi paio uno pollastrj paio uno
uova serque quatro

un pezo di terra vingniata posta i[n] detto popolo della pieve . . . la quale conperai da quintino dj francescho del popolo della badj dj settjmo chosto fj. 70 . . .

sotto dj tre dj djcenbre 1444 Rende in parte a me vino barilj trenta b 30

unpezo dj terra vingnjata posta nel popolo di sco cervazzo a pelago . . . la quale riconperaj dellanno 1446 adj 15 daghosto da tonjo dj piero chasella chostomi fj. 50 . . .

Rendemi detta vingnia nel presente anno barilj ci[n]que] dj vino lavorala bartolo dj domenicho di Pelago Rende

vino barilj ci[n]que b ci[n]que

Crediti di mo[n]te

Fiorinj ci[n]que ciento trenta dj monte chomune e qualj davano in me Lorenzo e Vettorio mjo figliuolo abiamoglj vendutj per soperire e nostri bisogni venderonsi sotto dj 27 prossimo passato

Una chasa con botega posta al canto alla palgha . . . la quale chasa e botega o chonsengnjata per dote della Madalena figljuola dantonio di Ser giovannj predetto e donna dj vettorio mjo filjuolo lentrata della quale debbe essere dj detto vettorjo marito di detta madalena tiella a pigione piero dj francescho maria spetiale dame di pigione lanno fiorinj ci[n]qua[n]ta fj. 50

carta fatta per mano di Ser antonio pugi notajo fiorentino sotto dj ventotto dj febraio

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1446, Sto. Cod. a c. 826 e 826t]

There is no Campione.

DOCUMENT 6

Yhs adj 14 dagosto

Q S G G chiavi

Dinanzi davoij singnjori uficialj a porre la nuova graveza daportasj per me Lore[n]zo di cione di ser bonaco[r]so ghibertj altrimenti chiamato lorenzo di bartoluccjo disse el primo chatasto i[n]mjo nome

Ebbj di graveza nella diecina fj. 2 sol. 10 dj. 9

fu sgravato sol. 10 dj. 4

Una chasa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di scto anbrugio luogho detto via borghoallegri [*see preceding Portate*]

Un podere posto nel popolo di scto piero a chareggi ollo [l'ho] a vita [*see other Portate*]

Una chasetta dalavoratore . . . postj nel popolo dj scto donato i[n] frozano luogo detto labondanza [*see other Portate*]

unpodere chon chasa per mio habitare e chasa dallavoratore posto nel popolo di scto guljano a settjmo [*see other Portate*]

un pezo dj terra vingniata posta nel popolo di scto ca[n]bagio a pelago [*see other Portate*]

Una chasa posta al canto al palgja [*see other Portate*]

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (perhaps autograph of Vettorio) al Catasto 1451, Sto. Cod. 718 No. 297]

The Campione Cod. 719 c. 515 gives the tax "tochaglj a sol. 6 per libra fj. 34.5.3—fj. 34.5.3."

DOCUMENT 7

Yhs MCCCCLVIJ a di 20 di febraio

Q S G go[n]falone] chiavj

Djnanzj a voj singnjorj hoficialj del chatasto del chomune di firenze sustanza e i[n] charichi per me

Vettorio di lorenzo ghiberti lavora per le porte dj sangiovannj diceva nel primo chatasto i[n] lorenzo di bartolo orafo lavora le portj di sangiovannj ora dice lore[n]zo dj cione di ser bonacorso ghibertj

catasto fj. 1 lire 8

Valsente fj. 34 lire 5 dj. 3

Ci[n]quina fj. 0 lire 13 dj. 10

una casa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di santa[m]-brugio di fire[n]ze . . .

un pocho di terra achatastata nel primo catasto posta nel popolo di san donato i[n] frozano . . .

Un poderetto posto nel popolo di sanguiliano a settjmo ch[n] chasa dabitare e chasa dallavoratore . . .

un pezo di vingnja posta i[n] detto popolo di sangiuljano

uno chasolare il quale a uso posto nel chastel vechio dj pelago . . .

un pezo di vi[n]gnja posta i[n] detto luogho enel popolo dj san cervagio luogo detto lenatj . . .

una bottegha alcanto alla palghe la quale ebbj perdote della maddalena mia donna . . .

una co[r]te co[n] porticj i[n]torno dove si lavora per le portj di sangiovannj luogo detto alle portj posto nel popolo dj michele bisdomini che da primo via sechondo papj dj benedetto cardinale dj giovanj bullete ad mio fj. dugento otta[nt]a e quali debbe tenere perinsino e tanto si i[n]tarrano el quale debbe stare per sua sicurta equali sono per la rendita della vendita dun podere . . .

Son i[n] sul monte fj. settanta due di mote e qualj dicono i[n] lorenzo mj padre

O avere da batista e iachopo spetialj la pigione di mesi tre

o avere dalla conpa[n]gnja dj S donato della badia dj
fiesole fj. sessanta ci[n]que sono per la fattura duna testa
dariento fa loro e quali no[n] posso loro adomandare per
di qui adj primo dj

novembre 1460 patto fatto dachordo chome dico apa-
riscie co[n]tratto per mano di ser ugolino della Chamora
1066. 39

Incharichi

vettorio dannj 38	fj. 200
Mona Madalena mia donna 20	fj. 200
fioretta	fj. 200
andreuolo	fj. 200
Bonachorso	fj. 200
Agelicha	fj. 200
Allesandra	fj. 200
Speranza	fj. 200
Mona Marsilia mia madre dannj 60	fj. 200

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto (auto-
graph) 1457, Sto. Cod. 828 a c. 12t]

DOCUMENT 8

In Yhu xpi [christi] no[mi]ne Ame[n]

Anno eius Incarnatione Mille ccccxvj die primo
mensis septembris initiat. pro quattuor meses prox. futuros
Zenobio Xpoferj [cristo- existentibus consulibus dicte
fori] artis Matriculatj et ad

Iacobus Xpoferi Simonis matriculatum dce artis et
Antonio Matei gherardi reci[pienti] etc. asumpti
Benedicto Marcj Micae- fuerunt infrascripti

lis

Laurentius Bartoluccj

Michaelis Scultor

pp [popoli] sci ambrosij de flor[entia] die 20 decenbris
1426

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname,
Libro delle Matricole, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. 2 a c. 32t]

DOCUMENT 9

Lorenzo di barto orafo ppo [popolo] S[an] abruogo
[Ambrogio] mccccxxiii

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San
Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 1]

NOTE

These Portate show that Ghiberti was well off, particu-
larly in 1451 when there was a heavy tax of 34 florins
5 soldi. Vettorio's Portata tells us that he was a sculptor
and still at work on the famous doors, probably the large
bronze framing on the stonework of the portal.

MINO DA FIESOLE

DOCUMENT 1

Yhs

Quartiere di sco Giova[n]ni

Gonfalone Chiavi

Mino di Giovanni di mino schultore dj marmo non
ebbe maj alcuna graveza ne dentro ne fuori alla citta dj
firenze habita et sta in firenze nel chiasso bertinellj dj
firenze Rapporta le infrascritte sue sustanze

una chasa posta in firenze nella via Maestra va alla
porta alla crocie nel pplo [popolo] di sco ambruogio di
firenze

La quale conperaj da Jacopo dj Jacopo di sangaletto
per pregio di fiorini cento . . . la quale o appigionata a
Bartholino di Marchonne lignaiollo per fj. 12½ lan[n]o
perche larte mia no[n] si con fare quivi et tengho unaltra
casa per me a pigione nel chiasso bertinellj da Antonio et
giova[n]nj falconierj done la[n]no di pigione fj. quindicj
dj. suggello

un pezo di terra lavoratia di staiora otto o circa posta
in aqua comune di poppi di casentino laquale comperaj
da piero di lappo dalonnano corte del palagio fiorentino
tassata col comune di firenze . . . per fj. 60—fj. 60

un pezo di terra lavoratia di staiora due o circa posta
nel comu[ne] di lierna di casentino corte di ragginopoli
laquale conperai da Mariotto del corte dalierna sono tassati
col com[une] di firenze . . . per fj. —

uno pezzo di terra lavoratia posta a bucena di staiora
tre la quale comperai da Mariotto da buccha corte di
Ragginopoli detto . . . per fj. 14 doro fj. 15

uno pezo di terra vignata posta i[n] vallj a Massonj
corte di porciano de casentino exente et tassato col
com[une] di firenze laquale comperai ala Matteo dan-
tonio da papiamo corte di porciano detto per fj. xxv . . .

un pezzo di terra lavoratia di staiora tre o circa posta
in Valdaccj corte

un pezo di terra vigniata posta nella corte di palagio
fiorentino tassati come di sopra col com[une]

Jncharichi

Tengo una casa a pigione come dissi di sopra da antonio
et giovannj falchonerj posta nel chiasso bertinelli della
quale nedo la[n]no di pigione fj. quindicj di suggello

. . .

Bocche

Mino sopradetto deta da[n]nj 40	fj. 200
Ma francescha sua do[n]na da[n]nj 24	fj. 200
Filippo suo figliuolo da[n]nj 1 et mesi 4	fj. 200
Zanobi suo figliuolo di mesi cioe mesi 3	fj. 200
So[m]ma per suo valsente fj. 230.15	

i[n] sulla botteggha fj. —i[n] tutto fj. 1
abatti per 5 percento di fj. 178.11.6—fj. 8.18.7

abatti per pigione di casa di fj. 15 lano. fj. 214.5.7

abatti per bocche 4 fj. 800

Chonposto per partito degloficialj i[n] sol. vi di oro.

Roghato ser nicholo ferinj notaio cancelliere fj. — sol. 6

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Chiavi, Portata al Catasto 1490, Campione Sto. 928 a c. 149 e 149t]

DOCUMENT 2

Qe S G Ge chiavj

Mino di Giovanni di Mino isoltore di marmo

Ebbi di chatasto i[n] mio nome 147 libl. 1 sol. 4

Ebbi di Chatasto i[n] mio nome lib. 2 sol. 12.4

Sustanze

Una chasa per mio abitare posta nel plo [popolo] di So Anbruogio e nella strada maestra della porta alle croci a primo via sechondo Ser giovanni prete a cholognole 1/3 vettorio di lorenzo di Bartoluccio

un pezo di terra dj staioro 8 posta i[n] agna chom[une] di poppi Rende di fitto lanno

Go [grano] staia 12 fj. 60

un pezo di terra lavoratia di staiora 2 o circha nel chom[une] di bibiena i[n] chasentino Rende di fitto lanno

Go [Grano] istaia 3 fj. 11.5

un pezo di staiora 3 posta valdarno chorte dorbacho di casentino uomini del cho[rte] Rende di fitto lanno

Go [Grano] istaia 3 fj. 15

unpezo di terra di staiora 8 lavoratia nel cho[mune] di poppi luogho detto achorsegnano Rende di fitto lanno

Go [grano] istaia 10 fj. 28.11.6

Un pezo di terra vignata opere 5 posta nel chom[une] di porciano i[n] chasentino Rende di fitto lanno

vino b[arile] 4 fj. 40

un pezo diterra vignata opere due posta nel chom[une] di palagio fiorentino i[n] chasentino Rende di fitto lanno

vino b[arili] 2 fj. 8

Tengho a pigione una bottegha dalla chiesa di san-firenze posta allato a detta chiesa primo via sechondo 1/3 detta chiesa pagho di pigione ognjanno a ser francescho prete dj san firenze lib. 36 e pagho ognianno di tassa dove sono tassati e detti benj lib. 6 sol. 10 fj. —

Bocche

Mino deta an[n]j 48

Ma francescha mia donna a[n]nj 34

Zanobi mio fig[luolo] a[n]nj 11

Caterina mia fig[luola] senza dote a[n]nj 7

go[vanni] mio fig[luolo] a[n]nj 5

Agnolo mio fig[luolo] a[n]nj 1

...

...

Tochagli . . . a 7 percento fj. — sol. quindici a ora — fj. — sol. 15 aoro

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1480, Campione Sto. No. 1022 a c. 19 e 19t]

This Portata is badly mutilated by water. A contemporary copy of Monte Comune gives the parts erased here.

DOCUMENT 3

In Xpi [Christi] no[m]i[n]e Ame[n] A[n]no eiusdem incarnationis Millo quadragintesi[m]o sexagesimo quarto Indict[ione] XIJ existensibus pruden tibus viris

Johane mag[ist]rj petri consulibus artis magistro-intagliatoris rumpro quattuor mensibus

Jacobo Andree nofrj init. die primo mensis maij romolj 1464

Luca simone della robbia

Johane Barthij [Bartholomej] bellaccinj

citta minus Johanis minj de pupio [Poppi]

habitat i[n] pplo [popolo] sce marie i[n] campo

intagliator recognovit matricola[m] Angelj baronis

linarulj matricolatj i[n] campione (c. 156)

eius socerj pro civitate die 28 iunij 1469

[Arch. *idem*, Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname, Libro delle Matricole, Sto. Arti 11, Cod. 2 a c. 122t e 123]

DOCUMENT 4

+ 1464

Mino di Giovannj di mino da poppi maestro di sca[r]-pello chondusse a pigione per uno anno che chomi[n]cio a dj primo di nove[m]bre 1464 per fj. diecj paio uno di chapponi lan[n]o

una chasa chon bottega di sotto posto in po [popolo] San piero insul chanto allo studio laquale teneva jacopo di giova[n]nj di cristofano bottaio in questo c. 143

Ede a uso dj fabro la quale chasa fu di bernardo dj giova[n]ni portinarj chui lospedale fu erede charta dellogagione per Ser angnolo di piero da terra nuova sotto dj 6 dj nove[m]bre 1464 a tutto febraio 1464 che sono mesi 4 fj. III sol. v dj. VIIJ fj. 3 lib. 1 sol. 10 1/2 paio di capponi

Anne dato adj x di marzo 1464 fj. tre sol. dj. 21

Anne dato adj detto sol. 15 per una topia e chiave che si dice aveva fatto a detta bottega e altre spese che sopra-pagato in danarj sol. 6 chossj mettono per chapponi dicho fj. sol. 9 1/2 paio di chapponi

[Arch. *idem*, Archivio di Santa Maria Nuova, Libro Fitti e Livelli G, Sto. No. 5748 a c. 147t]

NOTE

It would seem almost certain that Mino was born in Poppi for, as has been seen, he owned considerable real

estate in and around that town. It is only necessary to note that Luca della Robbia was one of the Consuls who admitted him to the Guild of Masters of Stone and Wood. It is difficult to understand why Mino was not taxed before his Portata of 1480.

PAOLO UCCELLO

DOCUMENT I

Sustanze e incharichi dj Pagholo di dono dipintore
uno podere posto nel popolo di santo stefano angano
chon chaxa dallavoratore e cho[n] uno pezzo di terra
apartenenti a detto podere . . . lavoralo andrea di piero
rende

Grano staia venticinque pei sol. 17 lo staio monta lib.
21.5.10

Panicho e civaie staia otto per sol. sol. 14 lostaio monta
lib. 5.12.12

vino barili dieci per sol. 20 lobarile li. 10

Soma la rendita lib. 36 sol. 17 dj. — a sol. 50 il fiorino

. . .

Da belacqua maestro lib. IIIJ piccioli fj. 1

Da giovannj orafo lib. VII piccioli fj. 1 sol. 15

Dal mazzo danigniano lib. VIIIJ piccioli fj. 2 sol. 5

Da vettorio di giovannj fugi a napol lib. xx piccioli
fj. 23 sol. 10

fj. 47 di monte comune vogliono a 50 percento fj. 23
sol. 10

Teste

Pagholo sopradetto deta dannj xxx fj. 200

Al chomune per prestanze e prestanzoni fj. xxx doro
fj. 8

. . .

Composto in sol. 5

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone
Drago, Portata (written by a notary) al Catasto 1427,
Campione Sto. No. 79 a c. 539t]

DOCUMENT 2

San Giovannj ghonfalone dragho sol. v

Valsente di pagholo di dono dipintore e sua incharichi
unopodere posto nel popolo di santo istefano aogniano
piviere di settimo istaia 22 o circha chasa dalavoratore
. . .

uno pezo di terra in detto popolo . . .

adincharicho a pagare la pigione dellachasa fj. 4

pagolo detto detta dannj 33 fj. —

incharicho duno chatasto si paga

avere dal belacqua lib. 4

da giovannj horafo lib. 7

da muzza dagniano li 9

dal chomune dj firenze di monte fj. 47 ischrittij

page sostenute dal 1423 al 1427 fj. 2 sol. 7 dj. oro

di detti dj. fj.

deo dj deo becchuti de dare lib. 36 sol. 5 dj. 6

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (not autograph) al
Catasto 1430, Sto. Cod. 381 a c. 779]

DOCUMENT 3

adi 31 di ma[g]gio 1433 a di chatasto

Dinanzi a voj signiorj uficiali del chatasto per me pagolo
di dono dipintore vi do lemje sustanze et incharichi

Un podere posto nel popolo di Santo Istefano angniano
in piu pezi di terra istaia 42 o circha

tiene a pigione una chassa inchampo chorbolinj da mona
chiara diacopo da pistoia dane 1 anno fj 9 di pigione

la boccha del detto pagolo danni 36 fj. 200 Sol. —

a pagare chatasti da marzo in qua fj. —

debitori

deo di deo bechuti fj 85 sol. —

I chomune di firenze di monte deprestanconi fj. 100

I chomune di firenze di monte chomune fj. 47

di page sostenute nol so quello mahi [mi abbi] avere e
chosi se pagare alchuno danaro periavere quando sono
istati fuori determinj in pero che tutto gli vendea debo
avere dalo ispedale di santo antonio a chastello gia fu degli
annj 20 jl quale o tutto chompo sizione me ne dea ognjano
fj 2 chomincio ora perche prjma non sepo ma chio glj
avesse avere per non avere la graveza sono fj 23 il
chiarito

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al
Catasto 1433, Sto. Cod. 477 a c. 392]

DOCUMENT 4

Qe S Go[vanni] Go[nfalone] drago sangiovanni

In the margin: pagholo di dono dipintore

Sustanza di

Pagholo di dono dipintore a dj cinquina fj uno

una chasa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di santa iucia
dongnj santi nela via della schala da primo via sechondo $\frac{1}{3}$
tofano di ghabriello vaiaio $\frac{1}{4}$ cristofano chuochinaio com-
peraj adj 21 daprile 1434 da lorenzo di piero lenzj fj 100

un pezo di terra chon chasa dalavoratore posta nel
popolo di santo stefano aungnano piviere di sattimo . . .
di staia 20 . . .

un pezo di terra posta in detto popolo di staia 20 parte
vingnara e lavoratj . . . lavora dettj 2 pezi a fitto stefano
di benvenuto

dame lanno dj fitto

grano staia 36 di grano —

lib. 36

e piu mi da lib 35 dj danari cont[anti]

lib. 35

uno paio di chaponi

lib. 1

denari di monte

fj 47 dj monte comune

fj 100 di monte diprestanzone

fj. 6

fj 121 di monte comune

fj.—Sol. 15 di 9

bocche

pagholo di dono detta danni 40

tengho a pigione una botteggha interna da primo lacciano sochondo buondel monti e detta parte ghuelfa donne lanno fj. 6

adi 21 Giennaio Sol 5

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1442, Sto. Cod. 625 a c. 224]

DOCUMENT 5

Quartiere sangiovannj gonfalone drago

dinanzi davoì oficialj del chatasto data per me pagolo di dono dipintore

Nela prima distribuzione del chatasto 1427 ebi Sol 5

O di valsente fj. 2 Sol. 3 di 4

e di cinquina Sol. 10

Sustanzie

Una chasa posta nella vja della schala popolo santa Lucia dognj Santi da primo via sechondo et terzo cristofano di gabriello vaiaio quarto ciennj di cristofano quainaio laquale lorenzo di piero lenzi fj ciento dieci a mja gabella . . . adi 21 daprile 1434 nelaquale abito chola mia famiglia

uno podere posto nel popolo di santto istefano angnjano piugere di settimo chon chasa dalavoratore istaia 20 . . .

un pezo di terra di staia 22 partte vigniata in detto popolo vochato cietini . . .

oggi lo lavora pasquino di mateo di detto popolo e ne parte tadeo dagostino del detto popolo lavorano a mezo e io mj riserbo la chasa per mjo uso . . .

Anchora dieci stiaora velcircha di terra in partte vigniata posta in detto popolo . . . la quale chonperaj da piero diachopo chorosiano del popolo di santo piero maggiore di firenze per fj 70 di sugiello e mj gabella et chossi chomperaj da santa marja nuova Jo che il sopradetto piero di mateo in suo luogo et santta marja nuova me ne fa charta . . . adi 7 dottobre 1455 . . .

credito di monte in tutto fj 29 de quali chomperaj adi 9 marzo 1430 fj ciento di prestanzoni detto per cento cholloro page sostenute chonperaj fj 41 del credito di piero benj

O avere le paghe di setembre et di gienaio 1457 sono fj 5

ano poche sostenute dal [14]23 al 27 a pontte chomune fj 2 sol. 7 sono ala M 141

O avere da baldese dj giovanni del popolo di santo istefano avagniano fj 24 eguali sono di fitti dj mjatterre tiene insjno nel 1452 . . . e povero non a nulla

O avere da bernardo di francescho et chonpagnj che

fanno le finestre del vetro ala piazza di santto giovannj popolo santta maria del fiore fj 17 sol 14 sono per di pinture de finestre glj dipinssi nelano 1456

boche

pagolo di deno sopradetto deta danj 62

Mona Tomasa di benedetto maleficj mia donna deta dannj venticinque 25

donato mjo figliuolo e figliolo di sopradetto

mona tomasa deta dannj 6

Antonia mia figliuola et figliuola di sopradetta

mona Tomasa deta danj uno e mesi quatro uno mesi 4

incharichj

Tengho una bodega posta in sula piazza di santo giovanj da primo via sechondo ischolaro di lorenzo vidiani quarto giovanni lorini la quale tengo da solo di lorenzo sensale paghone lanno fj quatto et una ocha nela quale mi riparo a di pigniere

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457, Sto. Cod. 826 a c. 56, 56t e 57]

DOCUMENT 6

Paolo di Dono

Pagholo di dono dipintore quartiere di sanct[o] ge [giovanni] Gone [gonfalone] drago

dinanzi da voj oficialj della gabella di Sol. 2

disse nel 1427 pagolo di dono dipintore ebi di chatasto Sol. 5

disse nel 1451 pagolo di dono dipintore ebi di valsente fj 3 sol 3 di 9

disse nel 1457 pagolo di dono dipintore ebi di chatasto Sol. 8

disse nel 1468 pagolo di dono dipintore ebi di ventina Sol. 9 dj 4

Sustanze

Una chasa per mio abitare posta nella via della ischala poplo [popolo] santa lucia dogni santi . . .

Laquale chonperaj [see Portata of 1457 for details]

uno podere posto nel poplo santo stefano angniano piviere di settimo chon chasa da oste e dalavoratore cho[n] stiaora 52 di ttera parte lavorativa e parte vjngnjata e pergolata chome parttamente raportai alla gravezza del 1455 e di poi

O aggiunte stiaora 13 di terra lavorat[iva] in detto poplo laquale chonperai da mona checha dj ducio di piero donna fu di lorenzo di piero gonfalone bue per pregio di fj 63 . . . soto dj 17 di setembre 1459

E piu augiunto istaora 2 e dieci panora di tera vjngnjata in detto poplo . . . chonperata da giovanni di giovanni di piero di chontro di detto poplo per pregio di fj. 19 sol.—. . . sotto di 28 dotobre 1458

E quale podere chon tutte le dette terre lavora oggi

giova[n]ni dantonjo di detto poplo e damene dafitto
[paid in cash lib. 40 and in kind, grain, capons, and eggs
lib. 66: total lib. 106]

E piu vjno che a meza barili XIII isbattuto chane [che
ne ha] che sono

Lengye [?] some [?] 3

Creditori di monte

fj. 22 dicono in pagolo di dono dipintore quartiere san
giovanni

E piu fj. 26 dimonte del 1466 fj. 80

O avere le paghe di magio 1469 fj. 13

boche

Pagolo di dono dipintore deta dannj 73 fj. 200

mona tomasa di benedetto malefecj

dona di detto pagolo deta dannj 56 fj. 200

donato figliuolo di sopradetto pagolo

e figliuolo di sopradetta mona tomasa

deta dannj 16 fj. 200

Truovomi vecchio e senza invjamento e no[n] posso
esercitare e la dona inferma

...

Chonposto fj.—sol. 9

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1469,
Campione Sto. No. 926 a c. 259 e 259^t]

DOCUMENT 7

Pagholo di dono dipintore MCCCCXIIIJ

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San
Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 1]

NOTE

Every effort was made to find Portate made in 1446
and 1451. Either the Registers are missing or Paolo was
away from Florence. As I could not find a Portate made
by him in 1480 and as his name does not appear in the
Libro di Debiti e Crediti of the *Compagnia* begun in 1472,
I believe that he died between 1469 and 1472 in spite of
the fact that the date of his death is given in 1498. Note
that in his Portata of 1457 he is to be paid for painting
windows.

PIERO DI COSIMO

DOCUMENT 1

Q S Go[vanni] go[nfalone] liondoro

Lorenzo di piero dantonio sughilinaio

Ebbe di chatasto 1470 sol. 8

Sustanze

Una chasa per mio abitare la quale e posta ne la via
dela ischala chonperata dala badia e fratj di setimo a
primo via a sechondo ludovicho di Giovanni horafo a terzo

marcho di matteo mercaio . . . chosto fj. 106 di sugelo a
mia gabella chonperaj deta chasa ano 1461 posta detta
chasa nella via dela ischala popolo di Sa pagolo [San
Paolo]

e piu chonperaj . . . dua pezi di ttera vigniata e uli-
vata posta chomune e popolo santo michele a charmigniano

E piu chonperaj . . . dua pezi di boscho posto i[n]
detto chomune . . .

E piu conperaj . . . un fito per lanno barili 5 di vino
chonperatta a di 25 di genaio 1473 fj. 90 larghi e piu
chonperaj a istaiora 4 o circa . . . chosto fj. 10 di sugelo
chonperaj a di 13 dj setembre 1476

Re[n]ditta

Grano staia 4

Olio barili 1

Vino barili 10

fabi staia 1

legna ½ chatasta

Una botega di sughilnaio posta i[n] porzanpiero [Por
San Piero] la quale te[n]go a pigione . . . lano fj. 7

Beni alienati

Una chasa posta nela via dela remita vendesi adi 11 di
setembre 1476 per . . . fj. 65

E più vendej . . . una chasa chon vigna e terra e
boschi . . . ebi di detta chasa e dete tere fj. 50 di sugelo

boche

Morenzo sopradetto danni 55

Ma lesandra mia donna danni 37

Piero mio figliuolo danni 16

Giovanni mio figliuolo danni 16

Francescho mio figliuolo danni 6

Rafaelo mio figliuolo danni 5

Maria mia figliuola senza dote danni 4

bastiano mio figliuolo danni 2

piero mio figliuolo ista al dipintore e nona [non ha]
salario raparasi in botega di Chosimo [Rosselli] a santa
maria in chanpo el sopradetto Giovanni ista cho[n]
nicholo a di salario . . .

tochagli sol. XII dj. VII fj.—sol. 12 di. 7

[Arch. *idem*, Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Leon
d'Oro, Portata al Catasto 1480, Campione Sto. 1016
a c. 553 e 553^t]

DOCUMENT 2

Quartiere dj Sangiovanni Ghonfalone lione doro

Piero di lo enzo di piero dipintore e fratellj abitano in
firenze nel popolo di Santa Marja novella disse la gravezza
dellanno 1481 in lorenzo dj piero dantonio suchiellenajo e
di poi nostra madre doppo la morte di Lorenzo suo marito
prese per la sua dote et per vigore duno lascio fattoglj
uno suo fratello che no[n] fecie jl piato al palagio del

podesta ser Mazzotto dj. — e di poi circha di. 18 mesi fa
mori nostra madre e per tanto glinfra schritti beni sono
pervenuti jn noi

Sustanze

Uno chasa per nostro abitare posta nella vja della
schala . . . la quale si dette nella gravezza 1481 per
lorenzo succhielljnajo

Una chasetta dallavoratore posta nel popolo dj san
michele a charmignjano

Una chisura hovero dua pezzj di terra vingniata e
ulivata posta nel chomune e popolo di san michele a
charmjgnjano detto alla roccha chon sua chonfini e
vochabolj . . .

Quatro staiora dj terra in circha chonfina allato alla
sopradetta terra vingniata ulivata e date nella gravezza
dellanno 1481 e lavora dettj tere Bernardo dangnjolo
del detto popolo

Rende lanno

grano staia 4

Olio barili 1

vino barili 5

fichi staia 2 fj. 9.9.7

et abiamo dj fitto da meo detto zullo et fratellj barili 5
dj vino e quale si da per uno fitto ij perpetuo che chosi si
chonperero dessi a gravezza lanno 1481 barili 5 fj. 1.10

Beni alienati

Dua pezzi dj boscho posti nel sopradetto chomune . . .
e la quale chonperero Ridolfo de bardi per fj. cinque . . .
sotto di 8 dj maggio 1489

. . .

. . .

Tochagli per lla decima sol. xviii dj. iij larghi—fj.
sol. 18.4

[Arch. Quart. e Gonf. *idem*, Portata al Catasto 1498
Decima, Campione Sto. No. 25 a c. 2521]

DOCUMENT 3

Piero di Lorenzo MCCCCXXIII

[Arch. *idem*, Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia di San
Luca, Primo Registro, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 1]

DOCUMENT 4

Piero di lorenzo zuchari dipintore nel corso degli adi-
mari de dare . . . sol. vi sol. 6

[Arch. Accad. e Comp. *idem*, Lib. Deb. e Cred. 1472-
1520, Sto. Arti 27, Cod. 2 a c. 106t]

NOTE

If the date of entry in the *Primo Registro della Com-
pagnia di San Luca* refers to Piero di Cosimo, it is mani-
festly absurd. If it refers to another Piero, Piero di Cosimo
does not appear in the Register.

The production of this article has required much hard
and tedious work. But the handling of scores of pages of
the Catasto which, about five hundred years ago, were
handled by the great painters and sculptors of the Quat-
trocento, and are written in their own hands and largely
in their own words, has had its special reward. Further-
more, real compensation lies in the hope that the publica-
tion of these Portate may prove a valuable contribution
in throwing more light on the lives and, in some cases,
the characters of the artistic geniuses concerned as well as
of members of their families.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY



FIG. 1. Paris, Jacquemart-André Museum: Sienese School, So-called Rape of Europa



FIG. 2. London, British Museum: Harl. MS 4431, fol. 11b, Pasiphaë and the Bull



FIG. 3. Paris, Louvre: Francesco di Giorgio, Rape of Europa. Cassone Panel



FIG. 4. Rome, Vatican. Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandine: Wall Painting, Pasiphaë

NOTES

A PERPLEXING PANEL IN THE JACQUEMART-ANDRÉ COLLEC- TION IN PARIS

PENELOPE DAWSON

An enigmatic little panel in the Jacquemart-André collection in Paris has, in spite of its great charm, remained in relative obscurity. It is painted on linen attached to wood and is described in the museum's catalogue as a Rape of Europa and there attributed to the atelier of the fifteenth-century Siennese painter, Giovanni di Paolo (Fig. 1).¹

The previous lack of interest in this little painting is difficult to understand since the subject matter was but rarely treated artistically in the fifteenth century in spite of that period's preoccupation with its classical past. As a matter of fact there seems to be but one other Quattrocento painting of the Rape of Europa: that of Francesco di Giorgio in the Louvre, which, although distinctly fifteenth century in feeling, penetrates the spirit of the subject much more successfully than does the painter of the Jacquemart-André panel (Fig. 3). The subdued tonality and mood of the latter, its extraordinary purity of feeling, is at complete variance with the classical legend, the story of which was well known in fifteenth-century Italy through Poliziano's poem, *La Giostra*.² So illusive, yet so pervading, is this feeling of purity that it denies the panel's present title. In fact the whole quiet, subdued, and unreal mood of the painting suggests some other literary source. That the virginal figure riding her allegorical charger is not Europa but Pasiphae — a mediaeval Pasiphae, however, who is as unrelated spiritually to her classical prototype (Fig. 4) as she is to Europa — seems at least more plausible.

The word Pasiphae originally meant "light for all" and the name was anciently given to a lunar divinity. The union of the bull and the cow symbolically expressed the light relation between the sun and the moon and was a favorite subject in Etruscan reliefs and Roman sarcophagi.³ Returning to the Jacquemart-André painting (Fig. 1), a small crescent moon and a tiny sun can be seen in the water through which the bull is moving — the moon to the left of his tail, the sun to the right of his forelegs — leaving little doubt that the artist, by placing these attributes there, designated the figure as Pasiphae.

The classical story of Pasiphae, however, no more explains the transfigured girl, devoid of any sensuality, than does the Europa legend. But this transformation was not original on the part of the artist of the Jacquemart-André painting for it had already taken place during the Middle Ages when the light element in the original allegory had been carried further, and the love of Pasiphae identified with that of the soul's love of God. This purified version of the mythological story is quite beautifully portrayed in a manuscript in the British Museum which con-

tains the poetical works of Christine de Pisan (Fig. 2).⁴ The illustrations are believed by Henry Martin to be the work of a certain Anastaise, a woman, mentioned by the author in Chapter xli of Part I of her *Cité des Dames*.⁵

In conclusion, it would seem that only by accepting the painter of the Paris panel as primarily representing the mediaeval interpretation of the story of Pasiphae, can the otherwise enigmatic character of the painting, its extraordinary purity of feeling, its aura of chasteness, be satisfactorily explained.

FAIRFIELD, CONNECTICUT

ON DÜRER'S KNIGHT, DEATH, AND DEVIL

HENRY ROX

In analyzing Dürer's engraving *Knight, Death, and Devil* (Fig. 1) emphasis has been laid by many scholars upon the particular style of the knight's horse. It has been pointed out that during Dürer's visit to Venice he must have had ample opportunity to study the bronze horse of Verrocchio's *Colleoni* statue. With regard to the horses' gait, however, observers generally are agreed that the influence of Leonardo must have been decisive. Wölfflin says, e.g., "There is only one horse of this stance in Italy at that time, the most modern of all, Leonardo's model for the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza."¹ Such statement sounds persuasive. The best-known horses of the Renaissance (the painted or the modeled ones) which are still in existence all show a different, i.e. an ambling, pace.²

Though it is still uncertain whether Dürer went to Milan before 1499,³ at which time Leonardo's model of the Sforza horse had not yet been destroyed, it cannot be doubted that, as Panofsky says, he "must have gained access to Leonardo's inventions either in the original or at least in direct copies."⁴

4. Christine was born in Venice about 1363 and died in France about 1431.

5. This work was dedicated to Queen Isabeau de Bavière and was written sometime after 1408 and before 1413. See Henry Martin, *La Miniature française du 13^e au 15^e siècle*, Paris and Brussels, 1923, pp. 72-76.

1. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürer's*, Munich, Bruckmann, 1920, p. 201.

2. Those by Uccello, Castagno, Donatello, and Verrocchio; also the antique bronze horses of S. Marco in Venice. There are, however, examples in Rome which tend to deflate Wölfflin's statement. We find the same stance as in Leonardo's model for the Sforza statue in the magnificent marble relief showing Roberto Malatesta on horseback (now in the Louvre, formerly in St. Peter's, Rome) which Valentiner discussed recently with piercing analysis. Valentiner points also to another earlier tomb in Rome, that of Antonio Rido by Dalmata, in the Church of S. Francesca Romana (see W. R. Valentiner, "Italian Renaissance Sculpture: The Tomb of Roberto Malatesta," *Art in America*, xxxv, 1947, pp. 300-312).

3. Oskar Hagen, "Dürer und Bramantino. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der ersten italienischen Reise," *Kunstchronik*, n.v. xxvi, 1914/15, pp. 267-272, discusses a sojourn of Dürer in Milan in 1495, as does Hans Rupprich, *Willibald Pirckheimer und die erste Reise Dürer's nach Italien*, Vienna, Schroll, 1930. He suggests the possibility of a personal contact of Dürer with Leonardo.

4. Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1943, p. 90.

1. "Enlèvement d'Europe école siennoise, atelier di Giovanni di Paolo. Panneau transposé sur toile H et L.O^m 42. Acq. Capponi, Fl, 1884." *Musée Jacquemart-André, Catalogue itinéraire*, 6th ed. rev., ed. J. E. Bulloz, Paris, 1921, p. 148.

2. See Stanzas 105-106. That Poliziano enjoyed a reputation outside his own Florence is evinced by the fact that his *Orfeo*, the first secular drama in the vernacular, was presented at the Gonzagas' court in Mantua in 1471 or 1472. (Bettinelli gives the latter date; Del Lungo prefers the former.)

3. See the famous "P" sarcophagus in the Louvre, Paris.

According to Panofsky, this is proved by drawings bearing Dürer's signature, which clearly show the influence of Leonardo sketches (Fig. 2). Two pen drawings, one (L 713) in Venice in the Academia delle belle Arti, the other (L 714, Fig. 3) in Cologne in the Wallraf Richartz Museum, both dated 1503, seem to establish this relationship beyond doubt.

Apart from the horses' gaits, the most striking similarities are between the profile views, the proportions, and the pignosed heads (Fig. 4). The horse's headgear in Dürer's engraving, however, seems to point to the *Colleoni* statue, as does the manner in which the foreleg is raised.

The whole of Dürer's work, as preserved, gives a good idea of the development of the artist's skill in drawing horses. The colored drawing L 461, at the Albertina in Vienna, shows a horse with an armored rider. It bears Dürer's signature, the date 1498, and the words in Dürer's own hand: "Dz ist die Rustung zw der Zeit in Tewttschlant gewest."

The Tietzes believe this overcareful and impersonal drawing to be a workshop copy after a Dürer original.⁵ Anyway, this drawing—or the assumed original on which it is based—seems to have been in the back of Dürer's mind each time he tried his hand at the drawing of armored riders, at least until the year 1513. The horse carrying a knight in full armor is given in strict profile, all four legs are on the ground.⁶

An engraved *St. George on Horseback* (B 54) with Dürer's signature, dated 1508, is a definite step forward in comparison to the Albertina drawing.⁷ Both horse and rider have more individuality, more weight and more volume.⁸ The rider's taut bearing betrays the impression which Verrocchio's *Colleoni* must have made on Dürer in Venice. The type of the horse most closely resembles Dürer's *Large Horse* engraved in 1505, while its harness as well as the saint's armor are related to the Albertina drawing. Somehow Dürer must have been dissatisfied with his *St. George*, for he omitted all background elaboration. Perhaps the lack of nobility in the horse and the want of clarity in the rider caused him to lose interest in the work.

The pen drawing L 790 (Fig. 5) of an armored knight on a powerful horse, at the Ambrosiana in Milan, evidently presented a more satisfactory solution to the artist.⁹ Here the horse is inscribed, for the sake of measurements, in a net of verticals and horizontals.¹⁰ When the drawing was completed, Dürer traced it onto the other side of the paper (L 791; Fig. 6), as Leonardo so often had done. This must have been so that he could view the effect of his design in the reverse, i.e. as it would appear on the paper printed from the copperplate, for the final print from a metal plate or a woodblock is necessarily a reverse version of the design on the plate or block. The great majority of Dürer's drawings, on which the engravings or the woodcuts have been based, show that the artist engraved his

plate in the normal manner, i.e. in the same direction as the preliminary drawing.¹¹ If we assume that a final working drawing existed before Dürer started to engrave the plate of his *Knight, Death, and Devil*, it can hardly have been the Ambrosiana drawing L 790, for there the rider faces in the same direction as on the print. The tracing L 791 could be, then, a possible working drawing. It seems, however, too superficial to have served as such, for neither side of the Ambrosiana sheet shows anything of Death or Devil, or of the background. If we want to visualize how such a working drawing must have looked, we shall have to imagine something between the verso drawing (Fig. 6) and the finished print in reverse (Fig. 7).

There seems little reason to doubt Peartree's and Kurthen's analyses of the two Ambrosiana drawings L 790 and L 791.¹² Both writers point out that L 790 is the first drawing, which Dürer then traced onto the other side. Indeed, L 791 bears all the earmarks of a copy, while L 790—showing Dürer's skillful draughtsmanship, his strength and vitality—is clearly the original.¹³

Kurthen explains that Dürer added a different hindleg on L 790 (Fig. 5) after the drawing was already finished. This bent hindleg, however, was not traced onto verso L 791 (Fig. 6). Kurthen believes that the addition was intended as a correction of L 790, or at least as an experiment executed later, when the engraving of the plate had already been begun. To the present writer, however, the sharply bent hindleg does not look like a later experiment. To improve or correct a drawing, an artist would use a heavier line than the original, whereas here close study reveals that the bent hindleg is drawn with the same ease, the same light pen stroke, as the rest. The awkward looking hindleg with hoof on the ground, however, does show heavier lines, which would indicate that this is where the artist intended to make a correction. In the tracing L 791 a few lines of the bent leg can even be discovered within the contours of the leg that touches the ground. The artist must have made them accidentally in the process of tracing. At any rate it appears that Dürer made the verso drawing L 791 after L 790, as it appears today, was completed.

In conclusion, it seems to this writer that Dürer's first plan was to draw a sharply bent hindleg as in the earlier drawings L 713 and L 714 (Fig. 3). Then he decided to set three of the horse's legs on the ground, perhaps to give more stability, perhaps because he preferred a more natural pace.¹⁴ Eventually, in his final engraving, he returned to the motif of a bent hindleg, though one not so sharply bent as in his previous drawings L 713, L 714, and L 790. Thausing has pointed out that in view of the *pentimenti* of the engraving (Fig. 1) it must have been a last-minute decision.

When Dürer traced the drawing L 790 onto the back of the

5. H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürer's*, Augsburg, Filser, 1928, I, p. 90. The Tietzes believe the date should be 1500.

6. The horse in Dürer's engraving of *St. Eustace*, B 57, shows marked similarity to that of the Albertina drawing; see Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

7. According to the Tietzes the 8 in 1508 is corrected, and the engraving was begun already in 1505; *op. cit.*, p. 83.

8. In the colored Albertina drawing L 461 we already witness a change in Dürer's taste. In his early twenties, when the artist allowed himself to follow his fancy, he would depict youthful riders on galloping horses such as the engraving of the *Courier* (about 1494). In his thirties Dürer is far more dignified, e.g. when he creates an ideal knight on horseback, like the *St. George* of 1508, where the rider looks more like a man in his thirties. Years later, one is not surprised to see the artist in his *Knight, Death, and Devil* (1513) depict a rider with mature features and the tranquil countenance of a man well along in his forties.

9. The arguments against the authenticity of this drawing do not seem convincing.

10. The pen drawing in the Uffizi, Florence, is evidently a copy of L 790 (see H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Dürer Katalog*, Basel, Holbein Verlag, 1937, II, part I, p. 92). According to Kurthen it is a copy by a foreign hand.

11. To quote some examples: The British Museum has a pen drawing of the *Prodigal Son* (dated 1497) which must have served for Dürer's well-known engraving. (The print is in reverse.) There is a pen drawing in Oxford showing a study of Eve (dated 1504) which Dürer used for his engraving of *Adam and Eve* of the same year (in reverse). The Albertina in Vienna has a chalk drawing of the *Emperor Maximilian* (dated 1508) which was used for Dürer's woodcut of the Emperor (1519) (in reverse). Also at the Albertina is a pen drawing of *Christ on the Mount of Olives* which Dürer used for his etching (1515) of the same subject (in reverse). *Mary Crowned by Angels*, a pen drawing at the British Museum, served evidently for Dürer's engraving (1518) of the same subject (in reverse). There are more examples proving Dürer's method of work, such as the drawing of *St. Jerome with his Lion* (for the woodcut of 1511), the silverpoint drawing of *Friedrich von Sachsen*, the chalk drawing of the *Standing Apostle*, and others.

12. See Tietze, *Dürer Katalog*, II, p. 92.

13. With regard to the authenticity of the drawing L 790, see Josef Kurthen, "Zum Problem der Dürerschen Pferdekonstruktion," *Reperitorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1924, XLIV, pp. 84-85.

14. Dürer's pen drawing L 786, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, signed and dated 1512, shows a bagpiper on a horse which also has three legs on the ground, a gait similar to that on L 790 and L 791.



FIG. 1. Albrecht Dürer, Knight, Death, and Devil. Engraving



FIG. 2. Leonardo da Vinci, Study of a Horse. Windsor, Royal Library

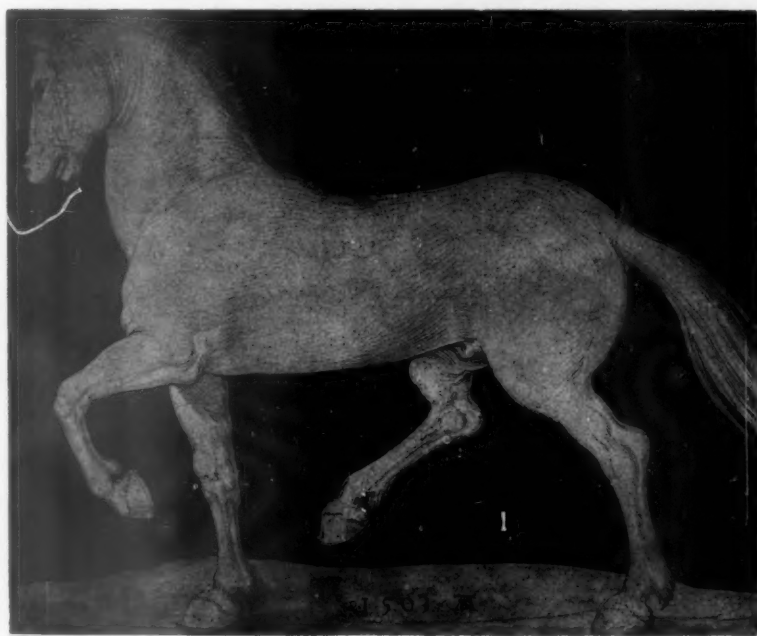


FIG. 3. Albrecht Dürer, Study of a Horse. Pen drawing, L 714. Cologne, Wallraf Richartz Museum

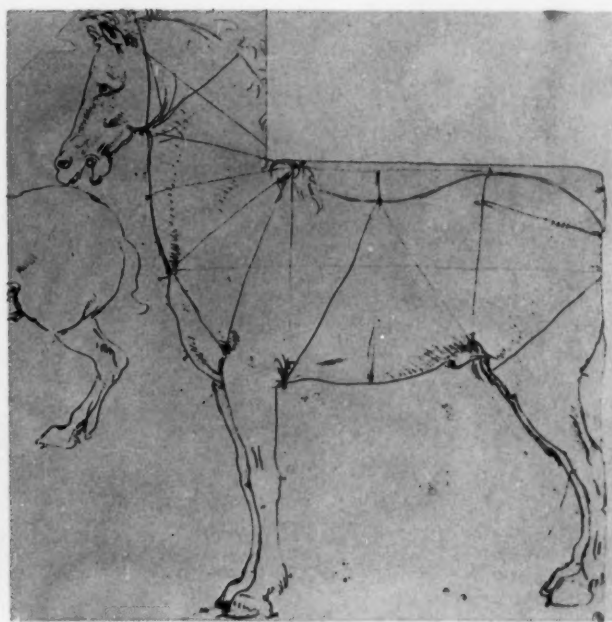


FIG. 4. Leonardo da Vinci, Study of a Horse. Windsor, Royal Library



FIG. 5. Albrecht Dürer, Armored Knight on Horse. Pen drawing, L 790. Milan, Ambrosiana



FIG. 6. Albrecht Dürer, Armored Knight on Horse. Pen drawing, L 791 (verso of L 790)



FIG. 7. Fig. 1 in reverse



FIG. 8. Benozzo Gozzoli, Procession of the Magi (detail). Fresco. Florence, Medici-Riccardi Chapel

paper he must have realized that in his final picture, i.e. on the print from the plate, which would look more or less like the tracing L 791, the empty space between the horse's legs would have to be filled; so he added a running dog. Judging from the actual final print we realize that Dürer considered neither L 790 nor the verso L 791 as the final drawing for the engraving. The horse was still too short for its height, its head too small, and the forms of the rider's helmet and of his arm were too weak. Yet probably before that was clear in the artist's mind he had tinted the background of this "pseudo-print" (L 791) with a dark wash. He had done the same at other occasions, e.g. in the 1503 drawing of a horse, L 714 (Fig. 3), in Cologne. Now he was able to judge the black and white effect of the design. And perhaps it was at this very moment, when he saw the silhouette of the white horse against the dark background, that he was reminded of another white horse against a dark background.

For, as a matter of fact, another horse did exist in Italy, also depicted in strict profile and strutting in similar fashion. It must have been very popular at the time of the Renaissance. It is the white horse bearing a youthful rider who, in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco at the Medici-Riccardi Chapel, represents one of the three kings on their journey to Bethlehem (Fig. 8). Most scholars doubt that Dürer made a trip to Florence. Rupprich, however, believes that he went even as far as Rome during his first Italian journey.¹⁵ Whatever the case may be, it is hardly conceivable that Dürer did not know of this important work in the Medici Palace. Considering his fascination for everything Italian and his intimate friendship with Pirckheimer, the connoisseur of Italian art, he surely must have seen reproductions—possibly drawings—of these murals, which Gozzoli had finished in 1463. If we assume that he did know them, we can be sure that he liked these bright pictures, their handsome riders and footmen, and all the rest of Gozzoli's decorative design. "I remember how Albrecht Dürer said that as a youth he had loved bright pictures full of figures . . .," wrote Melancthon in a letter to Georg von Anhalt.

The similarity of the gaits of the Dürer and Gozzoli horses is not sufficient reason for comparing Dürer's engraving with Gozzoli's mural. It is obvious that the two horses show marked differences in style, proportion, movement of the head, as well as to design of the harness. Nor do the two riders resemble each other.

However, if one adds to the horses' gaits the entourage of both riders, suddenly quite a number of similarities become apparent in these two works, and suggest a definite relationship.

The young king looking out of Gozzoli's mural is about to pass a mounted guard of honor. Only two of the squires on horseback are visible. Their horses are at right angles to that of the king. The first squire is holding up for the king a censer studded with jewels. A group of foot soldiers, keeping abreast of the king, is partly hidden by his horse, under whose belly can be seen his dog.

If it is assumed that Dürer knew the murals in the Medici-Riccardi Chapel, his engraving appears as a paraphrase of Gozzoli's picture. His central figure is no longer a youthful richly dressed king but a heavily armed soldier, calm and composed. Only the first of Gozzoli's two parading squires is taken over, the one with the outstretched arm. Dürer transforms him into a king, a gruesome king of death.¹⁶ He turns

15. Rupprich, *op. cit.* If Dürer did come to Rome he might well have gazed with admiration at the equestrian figure of the tomb of Roberto Malatesta in St. Peter's (see note 2, above).

16. With regard to previous representations by Dürer of Death on horseback, one of the four apocalyptic riders of the woodcut series comes to mind. As to the pen drawing L 704 at the Kestner Museum, Hannover, and the magnificent charcoal drawing *Memento Mei* (signed and dated 1505) L 91, in the British Museum, the writer shares the Tietzes' opinion that these are not by Dürer. Crowned corpses can be found al-

the golden gift in Gozzoli's fresco into an hourglass, the melancholy symbol of death. The squire's richly embroidered garb becomes a shroud, his golden curls are turned into hissing snakes framing the crowned head of a corpse on horseback. The squire's foreshortened horse, richly bedecked by Gozzoli, with golden harness, becomes a miserable mare bridled with ropes, its only ornament a death bell dangling from its neck. For compositional reasons Dürer puts this gory rider closer to the dominating shape of his armored knight, thus covering with the silhouette of the bulky horse a large part of the background figure.

Dürer's hero seems undeterred as he rides towards his goal, unaware of the dangers surrounding him. Death beckons from every side, a skull grins at him from a tree trunk barring his path. The Knight is accompanied by the Devil, a footman in the shape of a horned pig in wolf's skin, ready to stab his master in the back with the cruel weapon on his shoulder.¹⁷

There is a footman near the king in Gozzoli's mural, too, overlapped by the horse in very much the same way as in Dürer's design. Both figures carry spears on their right shoulders. Dürer shortens the weapon and moves the figure closer to the back of the horse. It is not surprising that Dürer, desirous of "saying much in few words,"¹⁸ omits the other foot soldiers of Gozzoli's painting. His Knight has only one friend who is reliable and who will follow his orders, his faithful dog. In his preparatory drawing, L 791, Dürer had already sketched a running dog between the horse's legs.¹⁹

The ravine-like background in Gozzoli is also a ravine, only a more threatening one, in Dürer's design. The young and fresh vegetation behind the king in the fresco becomes a cluster of withered trees and straggly roots.

Of all the *trionfi* painted or engraved in the Quattrocento, known to this writer, none seems to resemble Dürer's engraving so much as the group with the youthful king in Gozzoli's fresco in the Medici-Riccardi Chapel. It is the sum total of the elements pointed out that makes the relationship between the two works so plausible, and one wonders whether perhaps it also was the Gozzoli horse which induced Dürer to change his mind about the hindleg of the horse discussed above. It is only conjecture, yet the final position of the hindleg in the engraving shows much more resemblance to the hindleg of Gozzoli's horse than to any of the known drawings by Dürer or Leonardo.²⁰

The assumption that Dürer was influenced by Gozzoli's earlier work in no way belittles his genius as a creative artist. As Paul Weber has said, "One does an injustice to Dürer and

ready in the fifteenth century, e.g. on prints by the Housebook Master, whose graphic work played a decisive role in Dürer's development as a print maker (see Panofsky, *op. cit.*, I, p. 21).

17. Such a devil, the traditional symbol of sin, was an older invention of the artist. Dürer had designed a similar one, with one arm raised, though with hanging breasts, in a pen drawing of a *Last Judgment*, at the British Museum, L 248. It bears the date 1513, added by a foreign hand, but belongs stylistically to an earlier period. Winkler dates it ca. 1500 (see Friedrich Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1936, I, p. 133). Panofsky believes it to be a workshop drawing and dates it 1509/10 (see Panofsky, *op. cit.*, II, No. 640).

18. Heinrich Wölfflin, *The Art of the Italian Renaissance*, New York, Putnam, 1903, p. 258.

19. It goes without saying that the fresco of the Medici-Riccardi Chapel was certainly not the only work which may have prompted Dürer to draw a rider accompanied by his retriever, visible between the horse's legs. Such juxtaposition of horse and dog was in line with the old tradition in hunting scenes and pageants, evidently deriving from designs of the Middle East. Years before, ca. 1497, Dürer had placed a little dog between a running horse's legs in a woodcut, N 131, showing a galloping knight, *Saulus on His Journey to Damascus* (?), followed by a running foot soldier.

20. The bend of the hindleg forms a right angle in Dürer's engraving as well as in Gozzoli's mural. In Leonardo's sketches the angle is either more acute (Windsor) or more obtuse (Codex Atlanticus, Milan, and Rothschild Collection, Paris).

his time by basing one's judgment upon the modern somewhat strained conceptions of artistic and spiritual ownership. With regard to contents or — when he felt like it — with regard to composition, Dürer, like all artists of his time, adopted quite naively what others had created before. He also used single artistic motives, whenever they seemed suitable. This has been proved in detail and it is common knowledge with regard to the relationship of his Passion series to those of Schongauer, of his *Apocalypse* to the woodcuts of the *Koburger Bible*.²¹

It must be remembered that Gozzoli and Dürer belong to two different periods. In spite of the obvious archaism of style, the painting by Gozzoli seems a perfect representation of the carefree spirit which is so characteristic of the second part of the Quattrocento, with its delight in the charm of youth, its love of splendor, and its crisp design. Dürer's print shows the greater seriousness of the sixteenth century. It shows how the times had changed. Youthful charm gave way to mature strength. The "allegro" became the "andante maestoso," as Wölfflin phrased it. The light which used to be a means for modeling became an important element for mood. Dürer's *too Italian horse* has often been criticized as an alien element in this famous engraving. It has been said of the accompanying figures that they are *merely tacked on and that the whole is a compromise*. However, the apparent lack of unity in the print is primarily due to Dürer's overemphasis on a horse which, in proportion and anatomy, could hold its own against those of the great masters of Italy. No doubt Dürer did surpass them in the rendering of the horse's hide, yet he could not approach his Italian examples in terms of design. Though the proportions are admirable, his animal lacks the rhythmical play which we find in the horses of Leonardo, of Verrocchio, of Gozzoli, of Donatello, and of many others. In almost all the outstanding representations of horses of the Italian Renaissance one foreleg is either parallel to the horse's head or to the other foreleg, a linear harmony which Dürer hardly ever approximated.

It is easy to understand that there should be a disregard for horizontals in the northern master's work, i.e. a tendency toward the Gothic vertical. It explains why the figures of Knight and Death overlap, why Dürer's horse is shorter than Leonardo's. This narrowness, together with a lack of clarity, so characteristic for German art, helps to produce the atmosphere of dark foreboding in this eerie scene.

Dürer created this master engraving during a decade fraught with tension and danger, the decade in which Martin Luther launched his revolt against the Catholic Church. The general feeling in Germany was one of bitterness, of insecurity, of boiling unrest, directed not only against the Pope, but also against all established power, against Emperor and princes. "Behold how the wicked tyranny of worldly power, the might of darkness prevails," wrote Dürer in his diary when he learned about Luther's capture. Thus in Dürer's chosen subject the hero is no longer a member of a ruling family, as in Gozzoli's painting,²² but an anonymous soldier on horseback; he is a Christian knight in heavy armor, strong and trustworthy, one who follows his conviction unflinchingly. Dürer's "Knight" has been a very popular symbolic figure in Germany ever since.

Dürer's engraving with its sullen mood in contrast to Gozzoli's festive and happy parade makes a perfect backdrop for the drama unfolding in Dürer's homeland during the period of the Reformation.

It has been said that it was the *Look not behind thee*, a Biblical word used by Erasmus of Rotterdam in his *Handbook of a Christian Soldier*, which prompted Dürer to design his

Reuter,²³ as he liked to call his print. This appears plausible, as does the assertion that Leonardo's sketches and Verrocchio's *Colleoni* served as models for the rider's horse. Yet, in addition, Gozzoli's youthful king, with his entourage, seems also to have been in Dürer's mind. It came to the fore after the artist was satisfied with his ability to design his old dream, a valiant knight, riding a stately horse. "For from many beautiful things something good may be gathered, even as honey is gathered from many flowers," wrote Dürer in his introduction to his treatise *On Human Proportion*.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

HOUDON'S STATUE OF VOLTAIRE SEATED

MICHEL BENISOVICH

Following the publication of documents concerning Houdon's family by Helen C. Frick in the *ART BULLETIN* of September, 1947, the writer wishes to reproduce herewith the text of two letters preserved in the Library of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, which deal with Houdon's statue of *Voltaire Seated*.¹

These two letters have remained unknown to Houdon's biographers, even to those who had dedicated themselves specifically to the study of the odyssey of this statue,² a long odyssey whose legal and administrative details are not yet fully known. We take upon ourselves to give here in a rather summary fashion the story of the statue of *Voltaire Seated*, which stands in the foyer of the Comédie Française in Paris, inserting in the proper place the texts of the two letters from the Library of the Metropolitan Museum.³

Ordered from Houdon by Voltaire's niece, Mme. Denis, the statue of Voltaire was intended for the Académie Française. However, an apparently insignificant fact prevented Voltaire from continuing to sit after his death, if only in effigy, among his colleagues. It was reported to the prospective donor, Mme. Denis, that she was being ridiculed by the academicians, men of letters and encyclopedists, because of her marriage to M. Duvivier, after a widowhood of thirty-six years.⁴

In order to punish the members of the Académie for their

23. This suggestion, made first by Herman Grimm, has been challenged on the grounds that the true popularity of this work by Erasmus does not begin before 1515. "Dürer's engraving may have been created independently of Erasmus," says Paul Weber, *op. cit.*

1. These documents, as well as several other letters by artists, were donated to the Metropolitan Museum by Samuel P. Avery, once a prominent art dealer in New York.

2. A. de Montaignon and G. Duplessis, "Houdon, sa vie et ses ouvrages," *Revue universelle des arts*, I, 1855, pp. 249-259, and II, 1855, p. 444; R. Delorme, *Le musée de la Comédie Française*, Paris, 1878, pp. 9-10; Em. Dacier, *Le musée de la Comédie Française*, Paris, 1905; Jean Monval, *La Comédie Française*, Paris, 1931, pp. 16, 46; Georges Monval, *Les collections de la Comédie Française*, Paris, 1897, pp. 27-33.

3. We wish also to draw attention to the isolated letters by other painters to be found in the Library of the Metropolitan Museum: Tassaert (appeal for financial help), Ingres (in Italian to the Cardinal-Camerlingue), Courbet (important letter to M. Buchon), Chintreuil, Pissarro, and Manet (to Roger-Marx, referring to the *Boy with the Sword* bought by Alden Weir, and showing Manet's keen sense for publicity). A letter by J. S. Duplessis was published by us in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIX, 1946, pp. 291-292.

4. At the time of their marriage in January 1780, Duvivier was sixty years old. As a young man he had been a surgeon, a soldier, and an army commissioner at Santo Domingo. The *Mémoires de Fleury* (clever but apocryphal memoirs which were in reality written by J. B. P. Lafitte) relate some intimate details, leading to this marriage, in which Voltaire's monkey played a leading part.

21. Paul Weber, *Beiträge zu Dürer's Weltanschauung*, Strassburg, 1900, p. 40.

22. The youthful king is believed to be a portrait of the boy Lorenzo di Medici.

lack of respect, Mme. Denis changed her plans. The famous lawyer, Gerbier, wrote her an open letter expressing his opinion that Voltaire would be more at home among the members of the Comédie Française, by whom he had been crowned a few years earlier. The *Comédiens* hastened to play their part in this intrigue by requesting, in a letter dated September 26, 1780, the gift of the statue, which was not yet finished. On the same day, Mme. Denis replied favorably to their petition, signing her letter: *Mignot Du Vivier* (Delorme, *op. cit.*, p. 10). The following year the statue of *Voltaire Seated* was exhibited in the Salon, after which it was removed to the first foyer of the Comédie Française, then located on the site of the old Hotel Condé.

But at this point the affair began to go amiss. In May 1783 the "Continuateur de Bachaumont" wrote (*Journal*, xxii, pp. 360-361): "Mme. Duvivier, the former Mme. Denis, is ill-pleased with the fact that the members of the Comédie Française, under the pretext of building a mantelpiece, have moved the statue of Voltaire which she had presented to them, on the condition that it would be permanently on public view, and that they have relegated it to the private assembly hall."

Consequently, in June, Mme. Duvivier wrote a letter with which we are acquainted through the *Correspondance secrète* of Metra, in which she suggested to the *Comédiens* that the lower vestibule would be a good place for the statue. Her argument in favor of this new location was that de Wailly, the architect, who, in collaboration with Peyre, built the new Comédie—known as the Salle Neuve, the formal opening of which was celebrated on April 9, 1782—had planned from the start to place Voltaire there. In the event that her wishes were not complied with, she was ready, she wrote, to buy the statue back from the *Comédiens* at a price which Houdon would name.

Finally the government itself intervened in the person of the Duke de Duras, First Lord-in-Waiting, at whose command the statue was finally placed in the vestibule of the Comédie.

Came the Revolution; the Comédie was done away with, and an inventory was made of the objects "belonging to the state." At the founding of the *Institut*, the Minister of the Interior, Benezech, considering the statue of Voltaire as the property of the state, wished to place it in the assembly hall of the Institute. The question acquired a legal aspect based on the nature of Mme. Duvivier's gift.

De Wailly and Houdon became suspicious on hearing rumors that the *Comédiens*, who were ruined financially and badly in need of money, wished to sell the statue of Voltaire. It was at this point that the exchange of letters took place between de Wailly and Duvivier. The two letters now in the Library of the Metropolitan Museum are written on opposite sides of the same sheet (in 80), dated the same day—the 13 *germinal* without the indication of the year (April 2, 1796):

50 Bureau
13 germinal
No. 355

Citoyen,

Voudriez vous bien avoir la complaisance de m'éclaircir sur les prétentions des comédiens français qui disent avoir payé la statue de Voltaire à Madame Duvivier. Cette statue ne pouvant pas rester dans la Théâtre

français si, comme on le projète, ce théâtre est destiné à celui des arts. Alors on pourrait [three words crossed out]. Si les comédiens n'en étaient pas propriétaires, on pourroit la placer dans la salle de l'Institut qui servira aux assemblées générales.

Salut et fraternité.

DE WAILLY

On the back of the same sheet:

Pour répondre à votre billet, citoyen, je dois vous dire qu'il auroit été aussi malhonnête à Madame du Vivier de faire payer aux comédiens français la statue de Voltaire (qu'ils lui demandèrent par une lettre qu'ils lui envoyèrent par une députation) qu'il eut été impertinent à eux d'en faire la proposition.

Cette statue était d'abord destinée à être placée à l'académie française. C'est moi qui fit changer d'avis ma femme et qui la déterminai à répondre aux desirs des Comédiens français. En conséquence elle la donna au théâtre français avec la condition de la placer dans le grand foyer et sur la représentation qu'on lui fit qu'elle peserait trop sur la voûte nous consentimes à la laisser placer dans le vestibule.

Voilà la vérité que j'atteste.

Salut et fraternité

Duvivier, ce 13 germinal

It is a curious fact that after this categorical declaration, de Wailly and Houdon obtained, through the complacency of Duvivier, a contradictory statement to the effect that the statue of Voltaire was *not* the property of the *Comédiens* (letter in the Archives of the Comédie Française). Consequently in April of the same year, 1796, some workmen were sent to cart the statue away as state-owned property.

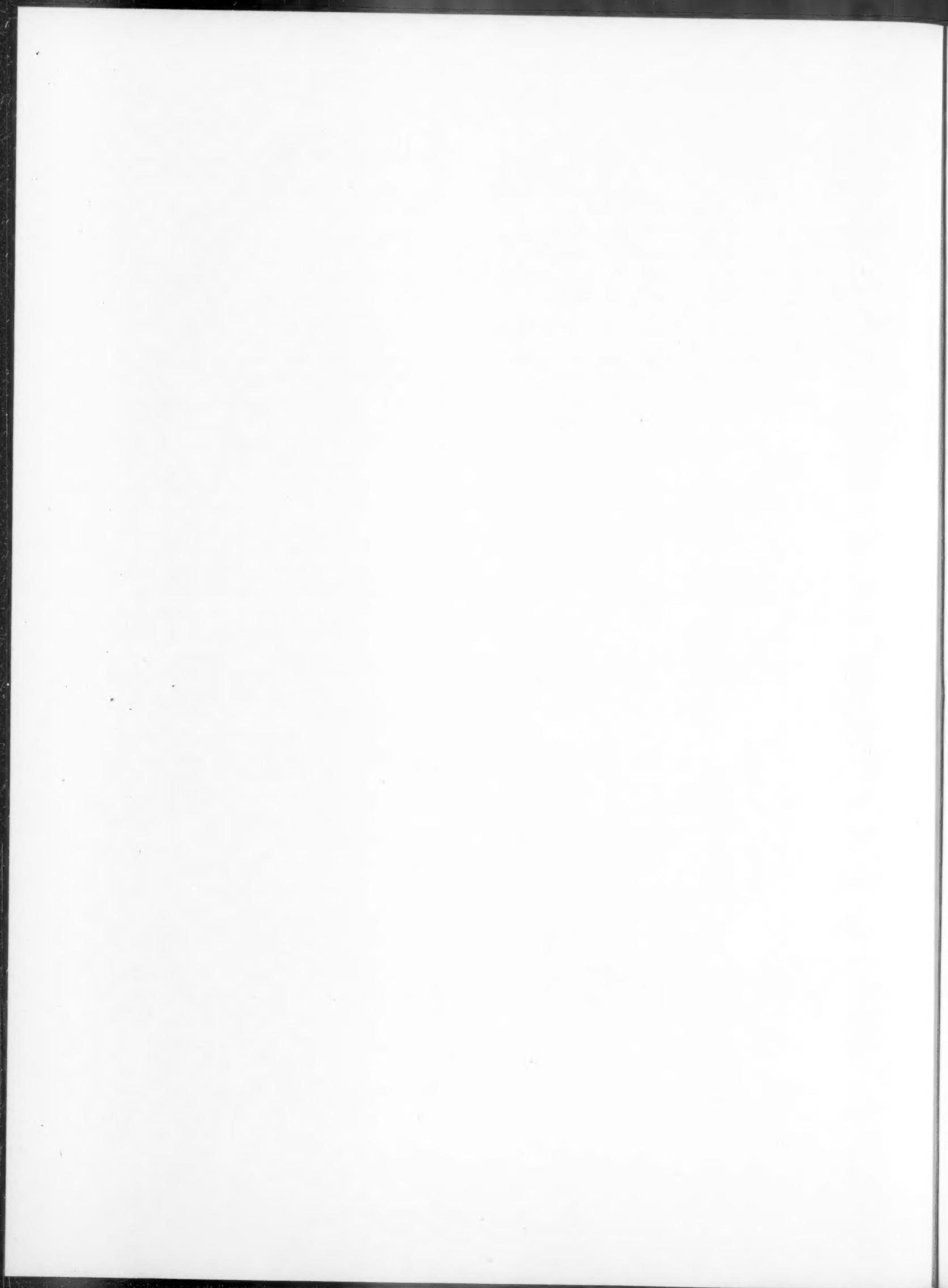
It was at this moment that the *Comédiens* forced Duvivier to recant and to change his statement for the third time. The actors sent a long note to the Minister, Benezech, with the final statement by Duvivier, which had been made a few days previously at their request.⁵ There was nothing left for Benezech to do now but to bow to the inevitable, however not without setting down for the record the contradiction contained in various statements by Duvivier.⁶

Hardly was the statue replaced, when the *Comédiens* tried to cede it to the Museum (the Louvre) in order to obtain the reinstitution of pensions for needy and destitute actors. With the reopening of the Théâtre Français in 1797, the statue of *Voltaire Seated* was put on exhibition before the public, and escaped the fire of the same year.

NEW YORK CITY

5. "... J'ai d'autant plus de raison de penser ainsi que c'est moi qui déterminai ma femme à céder aux instances que lui firent dans ce temps-là les acteurs français pour posséder la statue de leur bienfaiteur qui d'abord était destinée à être placée à l'Académie Française.—Salut et fraternité. Duvivier" (Archives of the Comédie Française; published in Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, p. 258).

6. "... la lettre du citoyen Duvivier est en contradiction avec une déclaration faite par lui au citoyens Houdon, sculpteur, et de Wailly, architecte, laquelle portait que la statue en question n'était point votre propriété. Je m'en tiens à la lettre qu'il vous a écrite . . . —Benezech" (Archives of the Comédie Française; published in Montaiglon, *loc. cit.*).



BOOK REVIEWS

GEORGE ROWLEY, *Principles of Chinese Painting, with Illustrations from the Du Bois Schanck Morris Collection*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. x + 111; 48 collotype pls. + 2 hand stenciled color pls. (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, No. 24, quarto series.) \$15.00.

Provocative is a word that is used by critics in relation to books in much the same way that the word interesting is used in discussing forgeries with their owners. The critic notes that a book is provocative, praises its format and illustrations, outlines the book and then sets himself for the kill. I wish to use provocative as a term of praise for Professor Rowley's *Principles of Chinese Painting*, not as a cloak from beneath which a dagger can be drawn. This book uproots many concepts about Chinese painting which have become deeply entrenched in western thought; it impels the reader to reconsider the relative positions of painting in the East and West; and it contains many controversial statements.

The volume is actually composed of two almost unrelated studies. The first part is concerned with the elements which distinguish Chinese painting. The latter part is a catalogue of items selected from the Du Bois Schanck Morris Collection of Chinese paintings which was recently presented to Princeton University.

Mr. Morris, as well as Mr. Rowley, is to be respected for the integrity of the catalogue. It is all too easy for a collector to insist on specific attributions and for a scholar to concur when dating Far Eastern pictures. The author does not fail to point out the difficulties of connoisseurship caused by the paucity of definite attributions and increased by the peculiar predilection, in China, for copying, imitating, and forging. Throughout the text the author hints at his criteria for dating, but does not specify them. He emphasizes the progressive virtuosity in brushwork which culminated during the Ming period, the changes in compositional factors, and the development of spatial relationships. With these criteria the reviewer concurs. A short recapitulation might well have been included in the foreword to the catalogue, but the catalogue itself is sound. Datings are conservative without being timid. Classifications such as Sung style, Sung tradition, or Ming period, which are defined by the author, indicate clearly his honest estimate of the dates of the paintings. That the paintings are rarely of great aesthetic importance is not a valid criticism. The catalogue presents to scholarship a whole new group of pictures in a superb format including two valuable sets of folded plates for horizontal scrolls. One might wish for a somewhat more detailed analysis of iconography and fuller notes on relationships with other paintings, particularly the dragon scroll (pls. 47-48) in connection with the examples in the Metropolitan and Boston museums.

An estimate of the principles expounded by Professor Rowley involves many considerations. To establish a common denominator for almost two thousand years of painting even in one country is a major, if not insuperable, task. The author has simplified the problem by completely ignoring traditional Buddhist painting. The omission is conscious and follows the trend of Chinese critical writings, especially those of the Confucian *literati* who regarded Buddhist painting as rarely anything more than the work of craftsmen. Paradoxically, some of the most revered artists (Wu Tao-tzu, for example) were primarily painters of Buddhist themes. The principles of Buddhist painting, especially in its hieratic form, are diametrically

opposed to those propounded by the author. To ignore them is to eliminate approximately twenty-five percent of the extant history of Chinese painting.

The material considered by Professor Rowley is mainly of the Sung and post-Sung periods. Indeed, a pertinent subtitle to the book could have been "With Special Reference to the Landscape Paintings of Southern Sung." The author's partiality is unmistakable when, in a discussion on suggestion, which occurs at the close of the book, he writes (p. 77): "This conception of artistic creation was most completely realized in the ink paintings of the Southern Sung period, . . . That is why we instinctively refer to these subtle monochromes when trying to fathom the Chinese spirit." Yet the landscapes of Southern Sung constitute only one phase of Chinese painting and already contained the germ of preciousness. However, to appreciate fully Mr. Rowley's analyses, the reader should accept this bias toward the soft and suggestive harmonies of the period and interpret much of what he says of Chinese painting in that context.

The main body of the book is divided into three sections. The first discusses the spiritual and philosophical climate in which Chinese painting flourished. The second defines the elements of style, and the third the elements of design. In the first section, "Subject Matter and Its Interpretation," Professor Rowley points out that reason and corporeal beauty were the chief elements affecting art in Greece, and that religion in India and science in western Europe served the same purpose. In China, however, life was looked at through art, rather than through religion, philosophy, or science. This stimulating thesis highlights another aspect of the whole problem of Chinese studies, that is, the difficulty of adequately equating Chinese practices and thinking with western terminology. This problem arises particularly in connection with various Chinese terms, used by the author in his discussion on style, which are not only difficult to translate, but also are vague and highly specialized in Chinese usage. To solve this problem Mr. Rowley devotes brief chapters to such subjects as "Spirit and Matter," "Heaven and Earth," "Taoism and Confucianism," and "Personal and Impersonal." In these the differences in basic concept between East and West are examined. For example, it is pointed out that the western distinction between matter and spirit does not exist in Chinese thought. Instead, there is a fusion of what in the West would generally be regarded as antithetical elements. Accordingly, this tends to foster a golden mean in artistic creation, not too abstract, too idealistic, or too natural. Mr. Rowley finds this a reflection of Neo-Confucianism which he considers a synthesis of Taoist and Confucian beliefs. Again, one can criticize this emphasis on Neo-Confucianism as being more typical of Sung than of other periods. Moreover, the neglect of Buddhist philosophic influences in Southern Sung is difficult to condone. Over and over again Buddhist sutras emphasize mystical types of non-duality identical with those found in Taoist writings.

In his discussions the author places more emphasis on the Taoist factor than on the Confucian. There is no doubt that much of Chinese painting was created under Taoist inspiration but it is questionable that most paintings were conscious attempts to interpret Tao. Rather it seems that non-Buddhist painting was largely the product of a general atmosphere of Taoist thought and only subconsciously rather than intellectually a reflection of the philosophy. It is difficult to accept the inference that each artist tried in every painting to interpret

the speculations of Taoism, although quotations can be assembled to support such a theory. We must bear in mind that the Chinese in all fields turned to literary authority to justify their practices. Mr. Rowley quotes (p. 46) Wang Yüan-ch'í of the Ch'ing period, who introduced new ink textures, as saying, "in landscape ink should be hairy" and "hairy is characterized by having its ch'í spirit ancient and its flavor liberal." Wang obviously was defending a new departure in technique and in so doing sought to identify it with an accepted philosophy.

The second section, "Style," is a discussion of the character *ch'í* or spirit which is the manifestation of Tao in painting. This character was first given aesthetic importance when Hsieh Ho, in his famous Six Canons of painting written about A.D. 500, used it in the enigmatic phrase *Ch'í-yün shêng-tung*. Since then it has undergone various translations. Rowley's version of "spirit-resonance life-movement" is literal and similar to other translations such as the one by Shio Sakanishi, "through a vitalizing spirit, a painting should possess the movement of life" (*The Spirit of the Brush*, London, John Murray, 1939, p. 50). Rowley, however, isolates *ch'í* (p. 34): "The Tao is made manifest in art as *ch'í*, and *ch'í*, being spirit, can only be known by its fruits. Although the Chinese never listed these fruits, they constantly returned, in their discussions of the presence of *ch'í*, to a few basic notions, namely: naturalness (*tzü-jan*), effortlessness (*i*), universal principles (*li*), 'bone-means' (*ku-fa*), structural strength (*shih*), pictorial reality (*shih*), seasonal aspect (*ching*), life-movement (*shêng-tung*), brush (*pi*), and ink (*mo*)." Thus *shêng-tung* becomes one of the many fruits of *ch'í*. It is within the analysis of these fruits that the most controversial aspects of the book are found.

Not all the "fruits" seem to belong to the same level of reference. *Sü* (thought) and *i* (conception), which are also given as "fruits" of *ch'í*, refer more closely to the gestative period, while *pi* (brush) and *mo* (ink) are certainly means as well as ends. On the other hand the *shih* of pictorial reality and the *li* of universal principles seem ends in themselves, even if all these elements depend on the creative spark of the *ch'í*. Although the interpretations of some of these "fruits" may be questioned, it is in the discussion of their meanings that Mr. Rowley makes some of his most acute and sensitive observations about Chinese painting. The vague term *shêng-tung*, for instance, seems to have more to do with the projection of the artist's personality through the vivid or convincing quality of his painting than with objective elements of rhythm in a picture as described by the author. Nevertheless, the analysis of Chinese rhythms, as contrasted with western, is one of the high marks of the book. Here it is pointed out that, in the West, the study of the human body, with its bilateral symmetry, led to an entirely different pictorial presentation than in China where the forms of nature were the artist's models. Rowley notices that (p. 41) "the rhythmic curves of an animal organism and of a growing plant arise from vitally different functions. In one, the artist must concentrate upon the highly complex contours of muscles, each part of the body demanding separate treatment, and, at the same time, find repetitive harmonies in this complexity and diversity; in the other, the contours of a stalk or leaf are much simpler and are multiplied over and over, but the artist must seek the vitality of growth in their sequential relationships."

The uneven quality of the section on style may be attributed largely to the vagueness of the Chinese terms as well as to the difficulty of finding western equations. Moreover, there is good reason to believe, even from the quotations presented, that the same term had different meanings in different periods. We have only to remind ourselves of the variant meanings that natural, as applied to art, has had in the West, to understand the problems with which the author was faced. Such terms can be interpreted only in context. Unfortunately, Mr. Rowley frequently omits his sources and, when he does supply them,

he merely refers to general works without citing editions or chapters. As a result of this quoting out of context, one has the impression that the same character may have had different overtones during different periods, and that, contrariwise, other characters may have conveyed basically the same idea when used by various writers. *Ch'í* as used by Hsieh Ho had quite different overtones than those of the same ideograph used by Ching Hao five hundred years later. Certainly the terms brush and ink expressed entirely different concepts during the T'ang, Sung, and Ming dynasties.

Some "fruits" are so closely related to other qualities which Mr. Rowley discusses separately as "Elements of Design" that the distinction becomes highly tenuous. One such instance is the *shih*, translated as structural integration. Mr. Rowley gives the impression through various examples that this term is concerned with the larger aspects of composition, especially when he uses it (p. 37) in relation to the "problem of the structure of the whole design." Yet he has under *chang-fa* a whole section on composition. The fault may be in the interpretation of *shih*. The meanings which cluster around this word have to do with power, virility, and authority. The last of these seems to be the best single equivalent in terms of art criticism. In the sense that we say a person "speaks with authority," a painting could be said "to have authority." This conveys, perhaps, much of the vagueness of the Chinese original and also refers to the intangible element of creative personality in a work of art which the Chinese and Mr. Rowley stress. In connection with this *shih*, the author quotes (p. 38) Shen Tsung-ch'ien as saying, "if the *shih* is not sufficient, one should lay down the brush." On the following page, in a definition of a different character also pronounced *shih* but translated as pictorial reality, an unidentified source is quoted as saying, "If *shih* is not sufficient, one should lay down the brush," all of which doubles confusion and again points up the need for documentation of source material.

The weakness of this book lies in the interpretation of Chinese terms; the contrasts which are frequently emphasized between eastern and western art, almost always to the detriment of the West; the lack of scholarly documentation; the limitation of material to types that prove the thesis. But despite these disturbing defects, the book is full of superb descriptions and subtle analyses which Mr. Rowley has carefully developed through serious and intelligent study. I should have preferred to have had more of the book written from the objective point of view of Mr. Rowley's own stylistic findings.

This book is in many ways a pioneer attempt to treat Chinese painting in a critically profound manner. Its shortcomings are due in large measure to the need of creating new tools to deal with the unusual problems in its field. Nevertheless, it will stimulate many to explore further the paths charted by Mr. Rowley, and will enrich the understanding of Chinese painting for most readers.

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GEORGE STEINDORFF, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1946. Pp. vi + 179; 129 pls. \$17.50.

The Walters Art Gallery has been particularly fortunate in having its Egyptian sculpture studied and presented by George Steindorff, who is at present unquestionably the most distinguished interpreter of ancient Egyptian civilization. This catalogue displays the clarity of expression and admirable organization of material which we have come to expect from a

scholar whose wise and penetrating investigations of Egyptian culture extend back to his first publication in 1883, and whose editing of Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sudan* has provided us with one of the most useful handbooks which exists for the traveler, student, and Egyptologist.

The catalogue comprises 745 items illustrated by 109 photographic plates and ten plates of hand copies of the hieroglyphic inscriptions from the various objects. The main body of the text is preceded by an introduction which provides an illuminating study of the factors contributing to the development of Egyptian sculpture and which sketches in the historical background. This is followed by a chronological outline, useful in following the details of the catalogue proper. The objects themselves are numbered consecutively throughout the volume, facilitating reference to the excellent plates. At the same time they are arranged chronologically within sections which correspond to the different types of object. Thus we find first statues and statuettes, then reliefs, and finally the smaller categories of objects, with a particularly happy grouping of the innumerable figurines, which are mainly of bronze.

Perhaps the section of the book to which the scholar will most frequently turn for assistance is that which treats of the small bronzes. With these one enters a complicated field where identification is far from easy. This material is introduced, grouped, and described with such simple clarity that the reader may fail to realize with what supreme skill Professor Steindorff has overcome the initial difficulties of what he aptly describes as "the jungle of Egyptian divinities." The author groups first the family of Osiris, the Theban Triad (Amun, Mut, and Khonsu) and the Gods of Memphis. Then he takes up gods in human form, those with animal heads, and the minor deities of a tutelary nature. Finally, he discusses the figurines of sacred animals. With the bronzes he includes small figures of a similar character although they may be made of some other material. He has extended the term sculpture as widely as possible to include such objects as the small stelae of "Horus on the Crocodiles," of which the collection possesses an unusual number, offering tables, funerary figures (shababti), and a fine series of sculptor's models.

In his introduction Professor Steindorff has given us an excellent summary of the characteristics of Egyptian art. In a few simple paragraphs he explains the point of view of the artist who worked in pre-Greek times. It is particularly helpful to have this attitude toward representation emphasized in connection with drawing which does not employ perspective but expresses a mental picture as conceived by the ancient artist.

The policy has been followed of describing and illustrating the sculpture collection in its entirety. Attention should be called to a remarkable portrait head of the late period on pl. xxxii (no. 194). Other objects, such as the early ivories on the first plate or the New Kingdom stela on pl. Lii, speak for themselves. The Walters Art Gallery possesses a most interesting series of late sculptures in relief. The granite reliefs of Dynasty XXX and the early Ptolemaic Period (nos. 253-259) from the temple of Sebennytos and possibly from the Iseion nearby in the Delta are particularly important as representing the style of a period not yet well enough known. Professor Steindorff has undertaken a special study of these reliefs and related material in American collections in the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vii-viii, 1944-1945, pp. 39 ff. Of a more individual quality are the so-called neo-Memphite reliefs of which notable pieces in the collection are illustrated on pls. Lvi and Lvi. Finally the precious little Meroitic relief, no. 293 on pl. Li, is a rare example of a late phase of Egyptian art which existed far to the south in the Sudan.

We should be grateful to the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery as well as to Professor Steindorff and those who have assisted him in the preparation of this fine volume for setting

an example of the way in which Egyptian collections should be catalogued and published.

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PHILIP HENDY and LUDWIG GOLDSCHIEDER, *Giovanni Bellini*, Oxford, Phaidon Press Ltd., and New York, Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. 34; 122 pls. + 5 in color, 18 figs. in text. \$6.50.

The chief purpose of the Phaidon books is to make available to a large, mostly non-professional, audience, good reproductions of the work of the foremost painters and sculptors. The value of these books lies primarily, therefore, in the quality and layout of the reproductions and the selection of the works reproduced. The authors of the present volume devoted to Giovanni Bellini have on the whole solved well the many problems that the preparation of a book of this sort poses. This is the best series of reproductions of Bellini's paintings that has yet been published, certainly much better than that in the *Klassiker der Kunst*, which among previous publications comes closest to this in intention and scope. Gravure plates and halftones — poor halftones — in the text have been used in previous Phaidon volumes, but the gravure process, which tends to produce fuzzy, gummy, and rather opaque prints, seems ill-suited to the luminous paintings of Bellini. The plates are all upright; only one or two paintings, such as *The Agony in London* (7), are skimped in size as a result, and it is a great convenience not to have to turn so large a book.

Readers of books of this kind naturally assume that reproductions show paintings in their entirety unless information to the contrary is given. Not infrequently, as in the present instance, publishers disregard this assumption. In two instances (pls. 14 and 97) notes on the plates state that parts of the paintings are omitted. In the Brera *Pietà* the front face of the ledge with its inscription, which appears in the color halftone, was cut off in the black-and-white plate, apparently by sheer error. But a number of other plates reproduce paintings incompletely without any indication whatever. The plate of the S. Zaccaria *Madonna* (100) first drew my attention to this practice, deplorable because it is obviously good to have all of the original, and inexcusable because these distorted prints are palmed off as complete reproductions. About one-fifth of the height of this painting, one of Bellini's most beautiful, has been shorn off. Omission of the upper reaches of the apse, actually a decapitation of the architecture, has altered essentially the effect of the composition (for a more complete reproduction see L. Dussler's monograph). Checking some of the other plates, I found that the *Feast of the Gods* (119) has been trimmed a little along the two sides and more at the bottom, the Frizzoni *Madonna* (22) at the left and top, the *Madonna with the Sleeping Child in Venice* (11) at the top and bottom, the Berlin *Man of Sorrows* (27) along both sides.

Though some of these lopped reproductions may have resulted from inadequate photographs, others would seem to be the handiwork of the designer of the plates. He apparently sought to produce a dramatic impact by reducing the space around the chief figures, enlarging their size, and foisting these larger and nearer forms upon the reader. The layout of the plates was guided throughout by a desire to make all cuts as large as possible, short of bleeding, and to hold to a uniform pattern of size, regardless of the consequences. Thus when two cuts are placed on a page there is sometimes (7-8, 45-46) scarcely any air between them, so that the two reproductions impinge upon each other, like crowded paintings in a gallery. The narrow margins between reproductions that face each other create a similar disturbance. The effect is even more unpleasant than that of closely-hung pictures, because in

many instances tightly set plates show the entire painting alongside a large detail of the same work (7-8, 14-15, 45-46, 47-48, 56-57). There is naturally a sort of special magnetism between the two, together with a change of scale that is startling. The poetry and the serene space of Bellini's early masterpiece, the London *Agony in the Garden* (7), have been destroyed by "skying" the painting on the page and allowing two details, each as large as possible and each in a different scale, to press in upon it. Changes of scale are of course unavoidable, but they have become especially confusing in this volume because of the inflexible method of layout, and they tend more than normally to mislead us as to the actual size of the originals. Furthermore, though most of the paintings naturally appear in reduced scale, the portrait in the Metropolitan Museum (39), the Fugger portrait (40), and the St. John in the Uffizi drawing (90), are blown up a little above actual size. In view of all this, it would have been helpful if the dimensions of the paintings, which are given in the list of plates, had been printed instead below the plates themselves, as in the Phaidon *Leonardo*. The latter volume was made more useful also by including in the legends the certain, or probable, dates of the works reproduced.

Most of the unquestioned paintings of Bellini are reproduced. The general reader would probably have preferred additional details of the best works, such as the S. Giobbe *Madonna*, to reproductions of damaged paintings such as the *Doge Loredano* (105) and *The Madonnas* in Verona (31) and London (51), or of works such as the Morgan *Madonna* (98), the London *Circumcision* (97), the Washington "Orpheus" (116-117), which are inferior in quality and, at the very most, problematic. One may hope that in the second volume promised by the authors, which is "intended for the less innocent reader" and which will contain "a discussion of the problems of attribution and chronology, a complete Catalogue Raisonné and illustrations of the remainder of Bellini's pictures and drawings," Bellini's authorship of a number of other paintings will be qualified in one way or another. It is hard to believe, for instance, that Bellini was responsible for the awkward groups of Dominicans and soldiers in the *Death of St. Peter Martyr* (115). The glittering and relatively coarse *Summa Virtus* in Venice (74) cannot have been painted by Giovanni, as Longhi has recently pointed out. *The Annunciation* in the Academy at Venice shows a sparkling light and shade, a busy design, and a restlessness of color that are quite unmatched in any of his works.

For this first volume Mr. Philip Hendy has written a text that, like the plates, is aimed somewhere between the interest of the general reader and the specialist. He begins with the position of Bellini in Italian and European painting, continues with observations on Venice and the Venetians, passes to the sources of Bellini's style, and then gives an account of his development as a painter, the fullest that has been published in English. This account contains some material that might better have been reserved for the second volume, and the general reader would gladly have exchanged, I think, paragraphs such as the first in the second column on page 12 (on a lost altarpiece allegedly signed by the three Bellini) for a more precise characterization of a few of the major works.

The text is fluent and often eloquent, supplementing the black-and-white reproductions by evoking the warmth and light and color of Bellini's style. It seems to have been written with a sense of the originals rather than, as is not infrequently the case, from photographs. It is given momentum throughout by the writer's enthusiasm for Bellini's painting. This enthusiasm, however, leads Mr. Hendy to dubious judgments of the quality and historical importance of Bellini's predecessors and followers, and to a conception of the absolute superiority of Bellini's mode of painting that few will, I think, accept. Demonstration of Bellini's stature involves diminution of the

stature of all the painters who surrounded him. Like Raphael and Michelangelo in recent books devoted to these artists, he towers above several generations of pygmies. These judgments entail something very close to the old notion of the idea of artistic progress, which is still a basic ingredient of all popular thinking about the arts, and which a book of this sort should not even seem to support. Thus, whereas it is undoubtedly correct to say, as Mr. Hendy does at the beginning of his essay, that "one can see a foreshadowing of Bellini's ideas in . . . Giotto, Masaccio, and Piero," it is risky to add "but they did not reach so far." Or, almost immediately afterward: "Bellini was a Venetian, but what the Venetian painters had done previously is scarcely relevant. . . . When Bellini came upon the scene, Venetian painters were doing little more than maintain a tradition of beautiful workmanship in harmony with the other crafts." These and similar passages misrepresent particularly Jacopo, Giovanni's gifted and venturesome father, and I think that the statement "In the pictures [by Jacopo] the idea of light is scarcely grasped" (p. 10) will be puzzling to those who look at the luminous drawing by Jacopo reproduced immediately opposite (fig. 6), or who are familiar with the Brera *Madonna*. Similarly the contribution of Antonello da Messina to the development of Bellini is reduced to a technical one. All the evidence, however, proves that the figures and composition of Antonello's S. Casciano altarpiece were not "modelled upon Bellini," as Mr. Hendy says (p. 24), but that on the contrary the designs of Bellini's S. Giovanni e Paolo and S. Giobbe *Madonnas* were derived from Antonello's (the S. Giovanni *Madonna*, too, must have been earlier than the S. Giobbe — cf. p. 28).

This estimate of Bellini's predecessors is bound up with a preference, within the painter's own *oeuvre*, for the late works from the 'eighties onward. This preference is unexceptionable, but it is tied to a very questionable belief in the absolute superiority of the mode of painting manifested by these works. The value of Bellini's early works seems to be in direct proportion to their approximation to the later style, and even the Brera *Pietà*, which I believe he never surpassed and perhaps did not equal, is seen chiefly as an anticipation of later forms (p. 14). Mr. Hendy says that of the two ways of creating form, line or light and color, the mode of line is abstract, is the more limited because it cannot encompass "nature herself and the less symmetrical of her fruits" (p. 8), and must frequently yield to the other mode in order to avoid sterility. Thus there "may well be no limit to the beauty which can be achieved by line . . . but Simone Martini's *Annunciation* or Castagno's *Last Supper* or Raphael's *Galatea* or Ingres' *Turkish Odalisque* or Picasso's *Guernica* represent rare moments at longer intervals in the history of painting" (p. 7). (What of mediaeval or oriental painting?) Throughout the ensuing discussion, and especially on pp. 24-25, there is implicit a conception of the superiority of naturalistic art, which "embraces all the visual world" and, unlike the more intellectual linear mode, embodies a "synthesis of the intellect with the emotions." Thus "modern 'abstract' art has been able to make only very limited use of the third dimension; while the visual profundity of the third dimension in the picture seems to have the power to evoke a corresponding profundity of response from the emotions. When the associations of the picture's subject are such as to arouse deep feeling, the solidity and depth of the illusion are the only limits to its power of expression." We must deduce, then, that a Crucifixion by Perugino has every prospect of being better than one by Cimabue or Giotto. These are extraordinary ideas, but they are transcended by Mr. Hendy's sensibility and they are motivated by his delight with Bellini's art.

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JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY, *Goya y el mundo a su alrededor*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Sudamericana, 1947. Pp. 85; 48 illus.

This volume contains five essays; four of them were originally written in English and appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* during the years 1944-1945; the fifth is a comprehensive treatment of what in one of the English essays was dealt with in only an incidental manner.

In translating his own essays into Spanish Dr. López-Rey has allowed himself a freedom which is not generally granted to the translator of another person's works. In fact, he has made some important additions, and taken at times a more polemical attitude than is to be found in the original. This was perhaps necessary, as his book is directed to a Spanish-speaking audience, which, paradoxical as it may seem, is more accustomed than any other to considering Goya as a sort of uncultivated genial artist. And it is Dr. López-Rey's significant contribution to the understanding of Goya's art that he has brought out the share that the artist had in the ideas of his own time. In fact, it would seem now, contrary to the belief which has prevailed among most scholars, that Goya was particularly keen about the philosophical, aesthetic, and humanitarian ideas which occupied the minds of the best of his contemporaries.

It is this new point of view which gives unity to Dr. López-Rey's five essays. The first, "Goya and the World around Him," thoroughly discusses Goya's active participation in eighteenth-century ideas, as well as his creative attitude in the face of the crisis which marked their end. The author has been able to gather from Goya's paintings and drawings evidence of the artist's interest in the thought of some of the European writers of his time. This view, which might perhaps have appeared startling, is upheld by a recent erudite discovery — the inventory of Goya's household effects published by Sánchez Cantón, who probably did not realize the full importance of his own discovery.¹ In fact, we now know that by 1812 Goya had accumulated a library of several hundred volumes — a fact which is all the more revealing since the artist did not come from a family likely to indulge in book collecting.

Dr. López-Rey studies the Rococo tradition, in which Goya was brought up, and which formed the core of Antonio Palomino's treatise, *Museo Pictórico*, a book first published in 1715-1724, and again in 1795-1797. In his second essay, the English text of which appeared in 1944, Dr. López-Rey compares what Palomino wrote on fresco painting with the list of materials used by Goya for the decoration of the little church of San Antonio de la Florida, and convincingly proves, contrary to what most writers (from Ceferino Aráujo to Sánchez Cantón) pretended, that Goya followed the fresco technique which prevailed in Spain throughout the eighteenth century. To the evidence originally assembled by Dr. López-Rey in support of his thesis, he now adds Don Antonio Ponz's testimony. Ponz, writing in 1788, said that the fresco technique had been very much simplified by the "moderns." The new method, he added, "is well explained" in Palomino's treatise. In addition, Dr. López-Rey has made clear that the paintings of San Antonio de la Florida have a spiritual meaning, shaped in the

artist's rationalism, but entirely alien to the kind of nineteenth-century naturalism that other writers have seen in them.

Some of Goya's drawings, the meaning of which has often been distorted by those who would see in them too narrow a political message, are discussed in the two following essays. Dr. López-Rey has endeavored to explain their complex significance as works of art. Thus they emerge now as an expression of Goya's vision of the world, which was founded on both reason and humanitarianism. The famous drawing, *No comas, célebre Torrigiano*, is fully analyzed in the third chapter. In order to explain more convincingly its actual meaning, the author has proved rather patiently that Goya was acquainted with Vasari's story about the death of Torrigiani. This he has been forced to do in order to dismiss the ill-founded interpretation that the drawing was nothing but an illustration of an anecdote told to the artist by an erudite historian of the Spanish Inquisition. Moreover, Dr. López-Rey has found a passage in Ceán's *Diccionario* which establishes the fact that Goya's opinion on Torrigiani's *St. Jerome* was highly respected by Ceán, the art historian. This passage, which throws light on more than one aspect of Goya's life, had escaped the attention of Goya's biographers until 1945, when Dr. López-Rey called attention to it. After thoroughly proving Goya's acquaintance with the story of Torrigiani's death as told by Vasari, the author describes the drawing from an aesthetic point of view, thus leading the reader to grasp its meaning, which is nothing less than Goya's idea of the unshakable freedom of the artist.

The last essay, entitled "Self-Description and Self-Portraits," deliberately deals with only a few of Goya's self-portraits — three of them in American public collections. No doubt these five or six pictures are enough to illustrate the particular point that the author wished to make concerning the wide divergences between Goya's epistolary self-description as a prematurely aged man, and the youthful appearance with which he always represented himself on canvas. This difference is so startling that, as Dr. López-Rey suggests, it must have aesthetic roots. It seems, in fact, that Goya, in portraying himself, never forgot Palomino's advice that the portrait painter should in certain cases dispense with those details which are the result of age, illness, or any other accident, since in a portrait the likeness actually rests on the contour line and on the interplay of lights and darks.

It is clear that it was not necessary for Dr. López-Rey to discuss each one of Goya's self-portraits in order to prove his point. One wishes, however, that he had discussed some of the questionable pictures. It is possible that this essay was not considered by its author as the proper place for impugning the authenticity of certain of Goya's "self-portraits." It is, nonetheless, significant that the author does not even mention Goya's self-portrait at the Smith College Museum of Art in his discussion of the one, dated 1815, at the Academy of San Fernando and another very similar at the Prado Museum, to which the Smith College picture, whether or not it is by Goya, must be related. Since Dr. López-Rey is in all probability more than familiar with the Smith College painting, his omission of any reference to it may perhaps be understood as an exclusion of that picture from the catalogue of Goya's *oeuvre*.

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1. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "Como vivía Goya," *Archivo Español de Arte*, April-June, 1946, pp. 73-109.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

On my return from Europe, after a six-month absence, I noticed a note in the June issue of the *ART BULLETIN* on the *Holkham Venus* in the Metropolitan Museum, by an author who disagrees with my reattribution of the painting to Domenico Tintoretto. I do not mean to discuss Mr. Evans' arguments since I had amply expounded my own, and in our planned book, "Titian and Tintoretto in America," I shall have a further opportunity of defending my point of view. On the whole, the admission that the supposed share of Titian, probably consisting in the "sketching of the contours of the figures and adding of the landscape" (Evans), was so thoroughly overpainted by one of the Tintoretto's as to make this appearance predominant in a considerable portion of the surface seems to me a noteworthy step in the right direction.

The only point in Mr. Evans' remarks to which I feel it my duty to take exception is the introductory paragraph in which Sandrart's testimony is misquoted. Evidently Mr. Evans has not read Sandrart and apparently has not even read, at least not carefully, the respective passage in my article. And I wonder why the Editor of the *ART BULLETIN* did not draw the author's attention to his mistake, which destroys the whole value of the note.

As a matter of fact Sandrart does not say at all that his painting "the description of which unquestionably fits the *Holkham Venus*" (Evans) was found in Tintoretto's shop, but he lists it among the cherished treasures of his own art collection, exactly as he lists paintings by Raphael, Titian, Dürer, Cranach and others which he certainly had not purchased in the studios of these artists. We are able to identify several items of this renowned collection which give us confidence in his accuracy, and where should Sandrart be more reliable than in enumerating the work of a colleague in whose city he had stayed for several years when that painter was still living! Sandrart was not only an experienced painter, but also a high ranking connoisseur and distinguished art historian, the "German Vasari", as his nickname goes. He must have known what he was talking about.

His testimony therefore states a fact, and our task, as far as the *Holkham Venus* is concerned, is not to split hairs—at least painted ones—and to present highly debatable arguments in order to prove that in spite of everything the painting, though considerably worked over by Tintoretto, is still by Titian, under whose name it was bought and paid for. We should instead consider how this newly unearthed fact may help to clarify the life of Domenico Tintoretto, entirely unknown before the death of his father—that is, prior to his thirty-fourth year.

E. TIETZE-CONRAT
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SIR:

I have read with great interest Mr. Belknap's article about Robert Feke,¹ which he was kind enough to say was occasioned by my previous article on the artist.² He has summarized his conclusions on Feke's identity with such caution that they are quite close to my own. I wrote, "All that can be said with certainty about the origins of Robert Feke the painter

is that more than a century after his disappearance he was linked on equivocal evidence with a Robert Feke who probably existed and if so was born at Oyster Bay at some unspecified time in the early eighteenth century."³ Although clearly anxious to demonstrate the identity between the Newport and Oyster Bay Roberts, Mr. Belknap admits the lack of any "direct evidence of the [*sic*] relationship of Robert Feke, the painter, to the Oyster Bay family. . . . In the absence of such a document the reader must judge whether the evidence is conclusive."⁴ This reader remains unconvinced.

Mr. Belknap misrepresents my position when he states that in "iconoclastic zeal" I would dismiss "family tradition" as potentially useful evidence.⁵ My basic contention is that any chain of word-of-mouth that has stretched for more than a century and contains demonstrable inaccuracies, should be regarded not as fact, but only as a clue on which to base further researches.

A fundamental difference of attitude towards the evaluation of evidence exists between Mr. Belknap and me, as is demonstrated by our conclusions about S.F.'s statement that Feke spent some time in a Spanish prison and painted pictures there which he sold on his release.⁶ We agree that it was historically possible for a sailor of Feke's time to have been carried a prisoner to Spain; that Feke was at some point in his career a "mariner"; that S.F.'s identity is unknown and his letter was based on some undefined source; that his letter was not written until more than a century after the events described, and that it contains demonstrable inaccuracies; that specifically in the story of the Spanish captivity, there is a quite incredible element (the part about the pictures); and that there is no Spanish influence discernible in Feke's style. This all being agreed, I regard the story as a rumor awaiting verification, while Mr. Belknap is inclined to accept it. He writes: "On the whole, S.F.'s communication, if allowance is made for its romantic, Victorian language, meets any reasonable standard for evidence of this sort. [!] So far without a pedigree, it must be evaluated with caution, but it cannot be disregarded. It is the only information we have in regard to the years from 1731 to 1741, and no information has come to light which is contrary to the tradition [*sic*]"⁷ S.F. repeats."⁸

If everything is considered right that cannot be proved wrong we can say good-bye to science and scholarship and all

3. Flexner, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

4. Belknap, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 205. Actually I gave more than a thousand words (pp. 198-199) to a discussion of the so-called "family tradition" aspect of the Feke problem.

6. Quoted from *The Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America*, iv, 1860, p. 20; in Foote, Henry Wilder, *Robert Feke*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, p. 112.

7. The word "tradition" connotes a continuous line of word-of-mouth information; the phrase "family tradition," that the passage of information has been between the members of a single family. They cannot be used, as Mr. Belknap has used them, as blanket terms to describe information about the source of which we know absolutely nothing. As I pointed out in my article (*op. cit.*, p. 198), it is impossible to prove that S.F.'s information came in an unbroken line from any member of the Feke family or any contemporary of the painter's. It may have been compiled from books by someone trying to explain the signature on a family portrait. S.F.'s information is more accurately "rumor," i.e. "a story circulating without any known foundation or authority" (Funk and Wagnall's *Dictionary*).

8. Belknap, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

1. W. Phoenix Belknap, "The Identity of Robert Feke," *ART BULLETIN*, xxix, 1947, pp. 201-207.

2. James Thomas Flexner, "Robert Feke," *ART BULLETIN*, xxviii, 1946, pp. 197-202.

elements of a rational world. And it is not admissible to argue for the acceptance of information from a demonstrably unreliable source on the grounds that no contrary information has "come to light." The attitude that anything, if it has only a possibility of being right, is better than nothing; that it is better to take a major risk of being in error than to be found empty-handed — this attitude has been a major deterrent to the development of knowledge in the field of American art. Let us never forget that sound scholarship demands proof at all times, and is proud to admit ignorance when proof is lacking.

I wish to congratulate Mr. Belknap on three factual contributions to the Feke problem: (1) His researches on Robert Feke, Jr., of Oyster Bay add to the likelihood that there actually was such a man.⁹ (2) Mr. Belknap presents evidence to show that there was much moving back and forth between Oyster Bay and Newport and that various members and relations of the Oyster Bay Feke family were connected with Newport in various ways.¹⁰ This I feel is worth recording, although it reveals nothing conclusive about the painter. Indeed, if such a line of argument were given much weight, we could prove that almost anybody was born, like Kilroy, in a dozen places. (3) Mr. Belknap has unearthed a new document explanatory of the *Historical Magazine* correspondence.¹¹ J.G.S., who in 1761 first publicly linked the two Robert Fekes, proves to be John Gilmary Shea, and Mr. Belknap quotes a letter of Shea's which I shall repeat in part:

"I had by some accident struck on some allusion to the painter Feke, paintings by whom of Governor Wanston [*sic*] and his wife are at Newport or Providence. [This clearly refers to S.F.'s letter, in which he mentions a portrait of "the beautiful wife of Governor Wanton"; and also states that the painter "was supposed to be a descendant" of an Oyster Bay family.] As an early New York artist he became an object of interest to me, and I traced him to Queens County.

"I frequently spent the summer with the late Judge Feeks at Meadowside, and opened on him. He knew that there had been a painter in the family and that portraits by him were preserved. He drove me to one of the family where I saw a very creditable painting on a panel with some directions on the back in the artist's handwriting. [I agree with Belknap that this probably was the portrait said to show Levinah Cock.¹²] . . . I threw into the Magazine briefly what I had

learned, and the twelve years have left the matter very vague in my mind."

Mr. Shea's closing sentence casts doubt on the evidence presented, but Mr. Belknap accepts the letter as a significant statement. If we are to do the same, we reach the following conclusions: (1) It was, as I postulated in my article, S.F.'s cautiously worded note that first called the attention of the citizens of Oyster Bay to the possibility that Robert Feke, the painter, may have been a local son. (2) Although Judge Feeks had spent many summers with Shea, who was known to be an American historian, he had never said anything about a family painter until Shea "opened up on him." (3) That Judge Feeks, even when he claimed that there had been a family painter, did not state that his name was Robert Feke.

Thus if we are to take Shea's evidence at face value, we come inescapably to the conclusion that the identification of Robert Feke the painter with any Oyster Bay Robert *was not based on family tradition in Oyster Bay*, but was inferred by Shea and Feeks in 1860 or 1861 to make the tradition that there had been a painter in the family accord with the information published in the *Historical Magazine*.

S.F., then, becomes the one and only starter of the rumor. Concerning his identity we know absolutely nothing. Concerning the sources of his information we know, from the cautious wording of his letter, that he did not consider them very reliable. And even this originator of the whole elaborate structure of argument and conjecture never said that the painter himself came from Oyster Bay, only that he descended from a family which did.

"Now in the names of all the gods at once,
Upon what meat doth this our rumor feed
That he is grown so great?"

It all amounts to the fact that the further we dig, in known sources, the greater becomes the confusion faced by anyone trying to prove an identity between Robert Feke the painter and Robert Feke, Jr., of Oyster Bay. Debate about shadings of interpretation of the inconclusive evidence could continue until it filled volumes, but the results would remain inconclusive. Until some truly revealing new fact is discovered, sound scholarship cannot escape recognizing that we know nothing for certain about the painter before he wrote his name on the back of the Royall Family portrait in 1741, and after he disappeared in 1750.

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9. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

11. John Gilmary Shea to Jacob T. Browne, Nov. 11, 1872; quoted in *ibid.*, p. 206.

12. This raises the amusing possibility that the idea that there was an artist in the Oyster Bay Feke family may have arisen from the existence of this portrait, with its equivocal inscription. Mr. Belknap specifically states that he agrees with me that the inscription "is in itself inconclu-

sive." He adds, "The attribution must rely, not on the inscription, but on family tradition" (p. 204). Thus we may have the delightful situation of two pieces of "family tradition," each having no foundation except the other. Like two drunkards trying to hold each other up, such a structure falls quickly to earth.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- American Sculptors Series Nos. 2, 3, and 4: Paulanship. Anna Hyatt Huntington. Daniel Chester French.* New York, W. W. Norton Co., 1947. 58 illus. each. \$1.50 each.
- LUDWIG VON BALDASS, *Conrad Laib und die Beiden Rueland Frueauf*, Vienna, Anton Schroll & Co., 1946. Pp. 77; 157 illus. \$3.75.
- SAMUEL C. CHEW, *The Virtues Reconciled, An Iconographic Study*, Toronto, The University of Toronto Press, 1947. Pp. 163; 18 plates. \$2.75.
- DONALD DREW EGBERT, *Princeton Portraits*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. 346; 236 collotype illus. \$15.00.
- PAUL ELUARD, *Picasso; His Inner Life*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1947. Pp. 199 of illus. \$4.75.
- JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER, *First Flowers of our Wilderness*, New York, Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1947. Pp. 368; illus. \$10.00.
- JUAN FRIDE, *Luis Alberto Acuna*, Editorial Amerindia, 1947. Pp. 60; 26 halftone illus.
- EMILIO HARTH-TERRE, *Apuntaciones a un plan organico para la ciudad de Lima. — Por una arquitectura contemporanea que sea nuestra. — Los estudios del arte Peruano en la Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes.* Privately published in Lima, Peru, 1947.
- RAFAEL LARCO HERRERA, *Hacia un Congreso Americano de Hombres Libres*, Empresa Editorial "rimac," S.A. Pp. 358; illus.
- C. H. DE JONGE, *Oud-Nederlandsche Majolica en Delftsch Aardewerk*, Scheltema & Holkema's Boekhandel en Uitgevers Maatschappij N.V., 1947. Pp. 445; 302 illus.
- RENÉ JULLIAN, *L'Eveil de la sculpture italienne*, Paris, Von Oest, 1945. Pp. 336.
- DANIEL-HENRY KAHNWEILER, *Juan Gris, His Life and Work*, New York, Curt Valentin, 1947. Pp. 178; 58 illus. in text and 113 halftone illus. \$15.00.
- E. P. DE LOOS-DIETZ, *Vroeg-Christelijke Ivoren*, Van Gorcum & Co., N.V.-Uitgevers Assen. Pp. 181; 16 plates.
- F. MASAI, *Essai sur les origines de la miniature dite irlandaise*, Brussels, Les Editions "Erasmé" S.A., 1947. Pp. 146; 64 pages of plates.
- RAY NASH, *Dürer's 1511 Drawing of a Press and Printer*, Cambridge, Harvard College Library, 1947.
- MAX RAPHAEL, *Prehistoric Pottery and Civilization in Egypt*, trans. by Norbert Guterman, Bollingen Series, New York, Pantheon Books, Inc., 1947. Pp. 160; 36 illus. \$7.50.
- DAVID TALBOT RICE, *Russian Icons*, London, Penguin Books, Inc. Pp. 39; 16 color plates.
- HEINRICH M. SCHWARZ, *Sizilien Kunst Kultur Landschaft*, Vienna, Anton Schroll & Co., 1945. Pp. 61; 220 illus. \$12.00.
- JURI SLONIMSKY and others, *The Soviet Ballet*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1947. Pp. 285; illus. \$4.75.
- KURT STEINBART, *Konrad von Soest*, Vienna, Anton Schroll & Co., 1946. Pp. 46; 81 illus. \$3.75.
- GUY DE Tervarent, *Les Enigmes de l'art — L'Héritage antique*, Paris, Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire.
- The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, being a first report on the excavations carried out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St. Andrews) 1935-1938. London, Geoffrey Cumberlege and the Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. 108; 58 pages of plates; 6 pages of plans.
- HARRY B. WEHLE and MARGARETTA M. SALINGER, *A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch, and German Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vol. II, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1947. Pp. 243; 176 illus. \$4.50.
- WERNER WEISBACH, *Vom Geschmack und seinen Wandlungen*, Basel, Amerbach, 1947. Pp. 112; 24 pages of illus.